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ABSTRACT

In May 1974, a research team of four persons, representing Teachers College, Columbia University, went to Durham, North Carolina to study and document the processes the Durham City Schools engaged in during its transition from a segregated to a desegregated district. Durham was one of five school districts included in the comparative study of desegregated settings, funded by the National Institute of Education, which had as its goal the documentation of key processes that are associated with the implementation of successful desegregation plans. The team spent four days in the Durham city community meeting with central administrative office personnel, principals, teachers, students and parents attempting to gather, through formal and informal interviews, their knowledge of, involvement in, and perceptions of the city's desegregation process and plan. In addition to interviews, the team made formal and informal observations in eight of the districts' 26 schools. A total of 12 instruments were used to insure consistency in the collection of data across the districts' schools. This study, it is stated, does not attempt to evaluate the long range effects of desegregation on the populace. It is noted that in order to establish the chronology of desegregation related events, the school files at the local newspaper were searched and copied, in part. (Author/JM)

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UDO 15678

DESEGREGATION IN DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

A CASE STUDY

Data Collected by
Desegregation Study Team

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Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York

1974

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PREFACE

In May, 1974 a research team of four persons, representing Teachers College, Columbia, went to Durham, North Carolina to study and document the processes the Durham City Schools engaged in during its transition from a segregated to a desegregated district. Durham was one of five school districts included in the comparative study of desegregated settings, funded by the National Institute of Education, which had as its goal the documentation of key processes that are associated with the implementation of successful desegregation plans.

The team spent four days in the Durham city community meeting with central administrative office personnel, principals, teachers, students and parents attempting to gather, through formal and informal interviews, their knowledge of, involvement in and perceptions of the city's desegregation process and plan. In addition to interviews, the team made formal and informal observations in eight of the districts' twenty-six schools. A total of twelve instruments were used to insure consistency in the collection of data across the districts' schools.

This study describes the process the district went through rather than evaluates the long range effects that plan had on the populace. While the latter is important and would be a desirable goal of a research effort, the team was constrained in terms of time, and manpower, as well as the study design, to address holistically the social, psychological and economic effects desegregation has had on the city.

A word of thanks and appreciation is due to all persons who shared their time, knowledge and feelings with the team. Special thanks are due to Dr. Frank B. Weaver, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction who, along with Superintendent Lew W. Hannen, made the onsite visit possible.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Description of Town and Demographic Data[1]

Durham, a city of 95,438 persons according to 1970 Census data, is located in the Piedmont region of North Carolina. It is a city with a "unique blend of town and gown, factory whistle and symphonic sounds, city streets and country lanes. A city where a child can grow up to be an All-American athlete, a famous medical specialist, a university president, a great scientist, or head of one of America's largest companies--without ever leaving the area."

Listed as Durham's greatest asset is its proximity to outstanding educational facilities. Duke University and predominantly black North Carolina Central University are located within the city limits. Ten miles south in Chapel Hill is found the University of North Carolina. Traveling east of Durham to Raleigh one finds North Carolina State University. These institutions and dozens more tremendously influence the lives and life styles of citizenry in the area. "A typical week may find David Brinkley lecturing or Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra in town for a concert, while the Duke Blue Devils play host to Southern Cal," or North Carolina Central Eagles hosts the Pan African Track Meet.

The Durham area is heralded by many as being the medical capital of the South with two university teaching hospitals, viz. Duke Hospital and the

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[1]Information in this section was taken from Durham, A Race Combination of Qualities and Durham, North Carolina Economic Summary both produced by the Greater Durham Chamber of Commerce; and, "Durham, N. C., A Slow Dance With Progress," by Lawrence Wright, Race Relations Reporter, Vol. 4, March, 1973.

University of North Carolina Hospital being located there. Additionally there is a veteran hospital and several other rehabilitation institutions as well as locally run hospitals in the area.

Durham has a host of the nation's largest industries, e.g., Liggett and Myers, Inc., Sperry Rand Corporation, General Electric Company, and black owned and operated North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. The city also forms one point of the triangle which denotes closeness of The Research Triangle, a 5,200 acre campus devoted to research-oriented industries.

One of the characteristics that is said to set Durham apart from many cities of comparable or even greater size is the economic stability, the political powers and the status of family life of a portion of the 38.8% of blacks who make up the city's population. Historically, Durham has been considered a progressive city, entrepreneurally, for blacks. During the early part of the century when W.E.B. DuBois visited the city he marvelled that, "Today there is...in Durham...a black man may get up in the morning from a mattress made by black men, in a house which a black man built out of lumber which black men cut and planed; he may put on a suit which be bought at a colored haberdashery and socks knit at a colored mill; he may cook victuals from a colored grocery on a stove which black men fashioned; he may earn his living working for colored men, be sick in a colored hospital, and buried from a colored church; and the Negro insurance society will pay his widow enough to keep his children in a colored school..." While some of the industry mentioned by Dr. DuBois faded into oblivion, two well-known and influential black industries

prospered, North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, and Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

Another characteristic of Durham, as described by the mayor, Jim Hawkins, leads to the realization that Durham did not escape the turmoil and social upheaval that rocked much of the nation in the 60's. According to the mayor, "We've had a social revolution in this town. From 1960-1968 we experienced more turmoil than any other city. We had to face these problems of a tremendous number of low-income people. In 1968,....a black community organizer and I had violent confrontations--now I sit down every day with him...Here we have people of all persuasions forming unbelievable alliances."

> "One of the unbelievable alliances the mayor referred to occurred in 1971 during the school charrette--a workshop devoted to problems in the schools. The co-chairmen of that Charrette were C.P. Ellis, president of the Durham chapter of the United Klans of America, and Ann Atwater, a militant black member of United Organizations for Community Improvement. The Charrette was widely attended and a cathartic experience for the community. It produced a list of recommendations for improving the schools, and momentarily projected its co-chairmen into national prominence on the David Frost show and tours of several major cities..."

The average resident in Durham has completed nearly 12 years of school and has an earning of approximately $8,300 per year. The city's unemployment rate has been kept below 3%. In spite of such statistics and previously stated rare qualities, nearly 15% of all income producing families earn incomes below the poverty level and nearly 29% still receive public assistance income.

Description of School District Prior to Present Desegregation

According to a 1971 research article entitled "A Change In Times," by Brenda Clegg, "With the Supreme Court ruling to integrate schools...Durham Negroes, like many other southern Negroes began to request action for local school integration. In 1958, the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations tried to arrange meetings between the City School Board and Negroes in the community, but the school board refused to meet. Some progress was made on August 28, 1959 at a special meeting of the City Board of Education. It was agreed that white junior and senior high schools would be integrated..." Perhaps the significance of Ms. Clegg's statement lies in the reminder that there was agitation in Durham's black community shortly after Brown v. Board of Education in 1954 directed toward desegregation of the city's schools. As in other places where similar agitation occurred, solutions arrived at were short-lived and designed primarily to placate.

Much of the historical data describing activities that occurred in conjunction with the Durham desegregation process were not at the disposal of the study team. One piece of data that was available was ethnic enrollment by schools for each of the Durham City Schools for the 1962-63 school year. As can be seen in Table 1, whatever desegregation that might have occurred prior to the 1962-63 school year had run its course. During this school year there were 15,071 students in the twenty-five (25) schools operated by the Durham City Schools. Of this total number 7,822 or 52% were white and 7,249 or 48% were black. There were ten (10) all black schools and fifteen (15) all white schools.

Table 1

1962-63 Ethnic Data by Schools

Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina
(Membership as of 10-1-62)

School	Grade/Level	Enrollment	White		Black	
			No.	%	No.	%
Durham High	10-12	1,692	1,692	100%	0	0
Brogden Junior	7-9	590	590	100%	0	0
Carr Junior	7-9	868	868	100%	0	0
Holton Junior	7-9	611	611	100%	0	0
Club Boulevard Elementary	1-6	582	582	100%	0	0
Edgemont Elementary	1-6	371	371	100%	0	0
Fuller Elementary	1-6	136	136	100%	0	0
Holloway St. Elementary	1-6	386	386	100%	0	0
Lakewood Elementary	1-6	348	348	100%	0	0
Morehead Elementary	1-6	337	337	100%	0	0
North Durham Elementary	1-6	304	304	100%	0	0
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	554	554	100%	0	0
Y. E. Smith Elementary	1-6	526	526	100%	0	0
Southside Elementary	1-6	140	140	100%	0	0
George Watts Elementary	1-6	377	377	100%	0	0
Hillside High	10-12	1,301	0	0	1,301	100
Whitted Junior	7-9	1,438	0	0	1,438	100
Burton Elementary	1-6	716	0	0	716	100
Crest St. Elementary	1-6	208	0	0	208	100
East End Elementary	1-6	725	0	0	725	100
Fayetteville Elementary	1-6	547	0	0	547	100
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	566	0	0	566	100
Pearson Elementary	1-6	945	0	0	945	100
Spaulding Elementary	1-6	564	0	0	564	100
Walltown Elementary	1-6	239	0	0	239	100
TOTALS		15,071	7,822	(52%)	7,249	(48

On October 15, 1965, a "Plan For Desegregation Of The Durham City Schools" was presented to the U. S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina. The plan was developed in response to a motion filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund against the Board of Education. It in effect abolished all attendance zones used during and prior to 1965-66 which had been adopted for elementary and junior high schools in the district, and the feeder system of assignments to high schools. "The Durham City Board of Education established one general school district within the Durham City Administrative School Unit and opened enrollment to all students at all schools within the district without regard to race, color, religion or national origin."

In abolishing all attendance zones and the feeder system the district concurrently adopted a policy of complete freedom of choice to be "offered annually to all pupils in all grades of all schools without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." The responsibility for school selection became that of the parent, in accordance with certain practices and procedures. School personnel were forbidden to advise, recommend or otherwise influence the choice of parents.

The plan allowed for assignments of students to be made in accordance with the highest school specified on an application blank provided by the district until the maximum capacity per classroom was reached at each school (see Exhibit "A," "Application for Assignment"). If neither of three choices made by parents could be granted, the parents of the child would be notified and required to make another choice from among other district schools where space is available. Written notice of final assignments were mailed to

EXHIBIT "A"

DURHAM CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

APPLICATION FOR ASSIGNMENT FOR 1966-67 SCHOOL YEAR

I, _____,
(Parent, Guardian or Person Standing in Place of Parent)

_____, desire that my child, _____,
(Address) (Name of Pupil)

who attended _____ School during the 1965-66 school year and was enrolled in the _____ grade, be assigned to one of the following schools for the 1966-67 school year, in the order listed below:

First Choice: _____ School

Second Choice: _____ School

Third Choice: _____ School

Signed: _____
(Signature of Parent or Guardian)

Witness: _____

Date: _____

NOTE:

This application must be returned on or before

_____ to:

Pupil's Homeroom Teacher (if during school)
or
Superintendent of Durham City Schools
Fuller School Building
Corner of Chapel Hill and Cleveland Streets
Durham, North Carolina

(For information purposes, a list of all schools and grades taught in the Durham City Schools is attached.)

FOR USE OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS ONLY

Returned to and received by me this _____
day of _____, 19___

_____

parents within a given number of days preceeding the school year or a given number of days following receipt of the application, whichever occurred last. Procedures differed somewhat depending on the classification of students, e.g., pupils entering first grade, pupils promoted to junior high or senior high school, pupils not promoted from highest grade in elementary and junior high schools, etc. However, the basics of the plan for each category were the same.

The plan called for the establishment of "capacity" of each school and classroom in accordance with the maximum capacity per classroom permitted under the minimum standards for accreditation established by the N. C. Department of Public Instruction and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Applications for Assignment and Re-Assignment (see Exhibit "B") were honored on a first come, first served basis, "although exceptions may be made in some instances in a non-discriminatory manner."

(EXHIBIT "B")

DURHAM CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

APPLICATION FOR RE-ASSIGNMENT FOR 1966-67 SCHOOL YEAR

I, _____,
(Parent, Guardian or Person Standing in Place of Parent)

_____, desire that my child, _____,
(Address) (Name of Pupil)

who has been assigned to the _____ grade at _____ School, be transferred to one of the following schools for the 1966-67 school year, in the order listed below:

First Choice: _____ School

Second Choice: _____ School

Third Choice: _____ School

Signed: _____
(Signature of Parent or Guardian)

Witness: _____

Date: _____

NOTE:

This application must be returned on or before

_____, 19 ____, to:

Superintendent of Durham City Schools
Fuller School Building
Corner of Chapel Hill and Cleveland Streets
Durham, North Carolina

(For information purposes, a list of all schools and grades taught in the Durham City Schools is attached.)

FOR USE OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS ONLY

Returned to and received by me

this _____ day of _____, 19____

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT DESEGREGATION PLAN

Circumstances Leading to Plan

In an article carried in the June 29, 1970 Durham Herald and Sun, entitled "4 Durham Schools To Be Paired in Revised Desegregation Plan," the editor stated:

> "Pairing of four city elementary schools and revised boundaries for the city's junior and senior high schools were revealed in the new desegregation plan filed by the City Board of Education with U. S. Middle District Judge Edwin M. Stanley...City School board members were instructed by Judge Stanley...to provide a new plan for further integration of city schools without a continuation of the seven-year-old 'freedom of choice' plan."

The Judge's order was in response to a motion filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund reopening legal proceedings against the school board. The suit filed asked that each school in the district be forced to reflect the system-wide ratio of blacks to whites. The school board did file a plan, but was not required by the court to set up such a ratio at each school. The board proceeded to draw up plans that would "further desegregation" with the understanding that some schools would remain predominantly black and others would remain predominantly white.

Participants In Plan Design

Interviews with principals and other school personnel in the Durham City Schools revealed that the Durham Desegregation Design was the creation of the school administration as representatives of the City Board of Education and the court which held jurisdiction over the case. The

writer was given access to the design entitled, "Plan For Further Desegregation Of The Durham City Schools," which was submitted to the court on June 26, 1970 and was to commence with the 1970-71 school year. The fourteen points proposed in the plan are summarized below:

1. The Durham City Board of Education will operate twenty-four (24) schools in the district, consisting of two (2) high schools, six (6) junior high schools, and sixteen (16) elementary schools. Table 2 lists the names, grades and racial compositions of each of the schools.
2. Geographical attendance zones will be established for each high school, junior high and elementary school.
3. Each student in the district's grades 10-12 will be assigned to the high school located within and serving the geographical attendance area in which the student legally resides. For the 1970-71 school year only resident and non-resident seniors were permitted to attend schools in which they were enrolled the previous year subject to availability of space.
4. Each student in grades 7-9 will be assigned to the junior high school located within the geographical attendance area in which the student legally resides.
5. Each student in the district in grades 1-6 will be assigned to the elementary school located within the geographical attendance area in which the student legally resides.
6. Based on actual enrollments and residential patterns of pupils for 1969-70, geographical areas established for 1970-71 will result in a racial mixture of students in each of the district's schools.

Proposed Ethnic Distribution of Students
By Schools - Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina
(School Year 1970-71)

School	Grade/Level	Membership May 1, 1970	Proposed Plan For 1970-71 TOTAL	Black No.	Black %	White No.	White %
Durham High	10-12	1,697	1,604	809	50%	795	50%
Hillside High	10-12	1,246	1,279	744	58%	535	42%
Brogden Junior	7-9	665	635	133	21%	502	79%
Carr Junior	7-9	446	425	207	49%	218	51%
Holton Junior	7-9	500	519	274	53%	245	47%
Rogers-Herr Junior	7-9	460	475	315	66%	160	34%
Shepard Junior	7-9	573	528	418	79%	110	21%
Whitted Junior	7-9	1,015	785	640	82%	145	18%
Burton Elementary	1-6	189	523	360	69%	163	31%
Club Boulevard Elementary*	4-6	538	466	27	6%	439	94%
Crest St. Elementary		(To be discontinued)					
East End Elementary*	1-3	542	483	380	79%	103	21%
Edgemont Elementary		(To be discontinued--built in 1901)					
Fayetteville Elementary**	3-6	581	554	414	75%	140	25%
R. N. Harris Elementary***	1-2	384	273	155	57%	118	43%
Holloway Elementary	1-6	400	504	253	50%	251	50%
Lakewood Elementary**	1-2	389	276	206	75%	70	25%
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	339	365	235	64%	130	36%
Morehead Elementary	1-6	292	290	195	67%	95	33%
North Durham Elementary	1-6	215	228	135	59%	93	41%
W. G. Pearson Elementary	1-6	746	769	696	91%	73	9%
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	505	510	148	29%	362	71%
Y. E. Smith Elementary***	3-6	569	547	310	57%	237	43%
C. C. Spaulding Elementary	1-6	455	493	424	86%	69	14%
Walltown Elementary	1-6	155	273	125	46%	148	54%
George Watts Elementary	1-6	293	277	101	36%	176	64%
TOTALS			13,081	7,704	59%	5,377	41%

*Two schools paired with each other
**Two schools paired with each other
***Two schools paired with each other

7. Students whose race constitutes a majority in a given school may, through their parents or guardians, opt for reassignment to a school in which their race is in the minority.
8. Mentally retarded and exceptionally talented pupils may be assigned to facilities specifically provided for such pupils, in a non-discriminatory manner and without regard to race.
9. The Superintendent with the consent of the Board reserves the right to change a student's assignment to a school outside his/her geographical attendance area in proven hardship cases.
10. The Board may re-define geographical attendance areas and grades taught per school in order to accommodate the allocation of pupil concentration to available facilities on a reasonable geographical basis, without affecting the unitary character of the schools in the system.
11. No student legally residing in another administrative unit will be assigned, either with or without payment of tuition, to a Durham City School; neither will the reverse be permitted. Exceptions for 1970-71 for each case were seniors.
12. Faculties will be assigned so that the ratio of black and white faculty in each school will reflect the same ratio throughout the school system..."Teachers and other professional personnel shall not be dismissed, demoted, retained or passed over for reemployment or promotion on the grounds of race, color, or national origin...."

13. All courses, facilities, programs and extra curricular activities offered at any school in the district will be equally available to all pupils attending a given school.

14. "Not later than October 15, 1970, the attorneys for the Board of Education will submit a report to the Court with a copy to counsel for plaintiffs, setting forth the racial composition of students and faculty at each school in the administrative school unit."

Though the plan as summarized above remains in effect today, it has not been uncontested legally or even by the Board of Education itself. Fluctuation in enrollment and the loss of students have rendered Durham's plan, in so far as student population is concerned, unstable. A comparison of the Total column on Tables 2 and 3 serve as an indication why there was a variety of concern about the district's plan. Enrollment in the district decreased by slightly less than 1,000 while the pupil population shifted 3% toward a larger black proportion.

During the 1971-72 school year the Board of Education spent the better part of that year working on a plan that would realign the racial makeup of the schools before the courts once more interceded. The plan, called "tentative," involved tripling the number of students bused, the closing of a predominantly black elementary school, the converting of one junior high to a vocational center, the pairing of several elementary schools and the sending of one-sixth of all junior high students to distant schools. The goal of the plan was to distribute the minority white population more evenly in the schools. Though the Board abandoned an idea of airing the proposed

Table 3

1971-72 Enrollment Data by Schools
Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina
(Totals Inclusive of Only Black and White Students)

School	Grade/Level	Enrollment	White		Black	
			No.	%	No.	%
Durham High	10-12	1,522	837	55%	685	45%
Hillside High	10-12	1,180	354	30%	826	70%
Brogden Junior	7-9	575	454	79%	121	21%
Carr Junior	7-9	395	213	54%	182	46%
Holton Junior	7-9	585	316	54%	269	46%
Rogers-Herr Junior	7-9	453	140	31%	313	69%
Shepard Junior	7-9	490	29	6%	461	94%
Whitted Junior	7-9	678	47	7%	631	93%
Burton Elementary	1-6	582	91	16%	491	84%
Club Boulevard Elementary	4-6	427	248	58%	179	42%
East End Elementary	1-3	432	173	42%	239	58%
Fayetteville Elementary	3-6	579	127	22%	452	78%
R. N. Harris Elementary	1-2	257	80	31%	177	69%
Holloway Elementary	1-6	517	274	53%	243	47%
Lakewood Elementary	1-2	289	113	39%	176	61%
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	214	51	24%	163	76%
Morehead Elementary	1-6	318	108	34%	210	66%
North Durham Elementary	1-6	185	67	36%	118	64%
W. G. Pearson Elementary	1-6	668	33	5%	635	95%
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	426	319	75%	107	25%
Y. E. Smith Elementary	3-6	525	194	37%	331	63%
C. C. Spaulding Elementary	1-6	460	14	3%	446	97%
Walltown Elementary	1-6	240	127	53%	113	47%
George Watts Elementary	1-6	324	204	63%	120	37%
TOTALS		12,301	4,613	38%	7,688	62%

Table 4

1972-73 Enrollment Data by Schools
Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina
(Totals Inclusive of Only Black and White Students)

School	Grade/Level	Enrollment	White		Black	
			No.	%	No.	%
Durham High	10-12	1,401	687	49%	717	51%
Hillside High	10-12	1,298	383	30%	915	70%
Brogden Junior	7-9	533	423	79%	110	21%
Carr Junior	7-9	338	153	45%	185	55%
Holton Junior	7-9	548	275	50%	273	50%
Rogers-Herr Junior	7-9	438	106	24%	332	76%
Shephard Junior	7-9	449	19	4%	430	96%
Whitted Junior	7-9	645	48	7%	597	93%
Burton Elementary	1-6	553	59	11%	494	89%
Club Boulevard Elementary	4-6	357	181	51%	176	49%
East End Elementary	1-3	387	130	34%	257	66%
Fayetteville Elementary	3-6	589	89	15%	500	85%
R. N. Harris Elementary	1-2	272	52	30%	220	70%
Holloway Elementary	1-6	484	193	40%	211	60%
Lakewood Elementary	1-2	241	50	21%	191	79%
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	171	28	16%	143	84%
Morehead Elementary	1-6	231	70	30%	161	70%
North Durham Elementary	1-6	193	66	34%	127	66%
W. G. Pearson Elementary	1-6	562	23	4%	539	96%
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	339	245	72%	94	28%
Y. E. Smith Elementary	1-6	503	144	29%	359	71%
C. C. Spaulding Elementary	1-6	458	14	3%	444	97%
Walltown Elementary	1-6	203	98	48%	105	52%
George Watts Elementary	1-6	220	122	55%	98	45%
Cooperative		74	8	11%	66	89%
TOTALS		11,421	3,666	32%	7,744	68%

plan at a public hearing, it did suggest that citizens send in written suggestions about changes proposed. The Board sought answers to such questions as:

1. How many residents would leave the school system and put their children in private schools because of the plan.
2. How many would not submit to busing.
3. How many would abide by the plan but form car pools to avoid busing.

Approximately 500 were received, the majority of which were negative. Sharp criticism met by the Board and its introduction of the plan forced it to retreat and to continue to operate under the plan ordered and approved in 1970.

Table 4 shows enrollment figures for the 1972-73 school year. Again the Total column for all students reveals a reduction in total enrollment from the past year by slightly less than 1,000. There was a concurrent shift in population of 6% toward a larger black proportion. This situation led to another motion being filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund asking the court to direct the city school board to prepare a plan to further desegregation. The suit also asked that an area called "city out" --an area located within the city limits but now under the jurisdiction of the country school system-- be incorporated into the city system.

In order to address the "city out" part of the motion, the Legal Defense attorneys eventually widened its suit to include other agencies of the State of North Carolina which have some power, authority or interest under state law concerning the boundaries of the school district, namely the Durham County Board of Education, Durham County Commissioner, Durham City Council and the North Carolina Board of Education. The writer was not shown any data

that led him to believe thus report any movement on the part of the district relating to the portion of the suit which called for a plan for further desegregation. It is assumed that the 1970 court order and resulting plan prevails. However, the writer can report that during the onsite visit to the district legal proceedings were just beginning in the court on the "city out" issue.

CHAPTER III

PROCESS LEADING TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION

In an attempt to determine what the key processes were that led to implementation the study team sought written documents from the central administrative offices, newspaper clippings from the local news, and it conducted interviews with school personnel at all levels. The team found little written information about processes that led to preparation of the community, as well as students, teachers and other school personnel for accepting desegregation. One central administrator indicated that the district's major concern was effectively implementing its desegregation program and by so doing it did not have the time to write down the process.

Articulation of Plan

The local press was used to a great degree to keep the public informed about the status of the motion filed against the Board of Education. It was instrumental in keeping the public abreast of the salient features of the plan, e.g., proposed black/white ratios in each school, the amount of busing to be used in the plan, the changing character of a school's program, etc. When the first "permanent plan" for desegregation was adopted, the plan in its entirety was printed in the paper. Though neither the writer nor the study team members saw copies, sources in the school district indicated that a similar thing was done when the current plan was adopted. In addition to providing frequent information on the components of the plan, the local paper, through its editorial column, also provided a forum for public expression about it.

In the absence of written information other than newspaper clippings, about key processes leading toward implementation, the study team asked various persons in interviews to recall as much as possible about the way the plan was articulated to them as well as the way they were prepared for the change.

Teacher and Staff Involvement and Preparation

Twenty-four (24) teachers, a sample drawn from each school visited, were asked a series of questions concerning their knowledge about the plan, their involvement in it, and their perceptions of the processes that led to its implementation. The first question asked was "Are you familiar with the Integration Plan?" All of the teachers queried except two had been in the Durham City Schools for at least four years, thus were in the district during the first year of current plan. Twenty (20) or approximately 81% indicated "yes" to the question. Two (2) or 9% stated that they were "vaguely" familiar with the plan and two (2) or 9% suggested that they were not familiar with it.

Teachers were then asked "How did you become familiar with the integration plan? What was the extent of articulation by school officials?" There was a range of answers to these questions. Answers have been categorized below for the sake of reporting frequencies of responses:

1. There was no articulation from school officials - 6
2. Announcements in news media - 8
3. Board of Education meetings, public meetings - 6
4. Teachers not in the district at the time - 2
5. Teacher lived through rhetoric as a student, then eventually joined the ranks as a teacher - 1

Question three attempted to determine how district officials prepared faculty and staff for the impending change. It asked "How did the school officials prepare the faculty and staff for integration as outlined in the plan?" Two (2) individuals did not respond to the question, eight (8) indicated that nothing was done, and fourteen (14) stated that the district provided human relations workshops, though not for all teachers, that focused on desegregation, its values, its problems. The workshops were termed excellent by some, a waste of time by some, neither good nor bad by some.

"How was the faculty and staff involved in planning for integration as reflected in the plan?" Responses to this question were:

1.	Teachers were not involved	- 14
2.	Principal minimally involved in teacher transfers and drawing of boundary lines	- 1
3.	Teachers were consulted through the Durham Classroom Teachers Association	- 1
4.	"Strategic" teachers from various schools were called on to help plan workshops	- 1
5.	Through "Women In Action"	- 1
6.	Don't know	- 1
7.	No answer	- 5

Five (5) guidance counselors in the school district were also asked to share their opinions and knowledge about the plan. Two (2) of the counselors were from junior high schools and three (3) were from the senior high schools. Four (4) of the five (5) responded that they were familiar with the plan. The other had a vague notion about it. As for how the plan was articulated by school officials, three (3) counselors indicated that they learned of the plan through the news media, and the other two (2) suggested that they learned through faculty meetings.

Most counselors cited "workshops" as the way district officials prepared faculty and staff for integration. They, like the teachers who were interviewed, were not involved in planning for integration.

Teacher and Staff Assignment

In its "Plan For Further Desegregation of The Durham City Schools," as submitted to the U. S. District Court Middle District of N. C., the Durham City Board of Education spelled out fourteen (14) components to which it was ascribing. The twelfth component dealt with the matter of assigning faculties. The context of this component read:

> "12. Faculties in the Durham City Administrative School Unit shall be assigned to the respective schools in the school system so that the ratio shall be approximately the same as the ratio throughout the school system.
>
> a. In order to effect the employment and assignment of teachers and other professional personnel in the Durham City School System, the Durham City Board of Education will continue to open vacant teacher positions in the future to all applicants, and each vacancy shall be filled by the best qualified applicant regardless of race. Teachers and other professional personnel will be employed and assigned to the various schools...on the basis of ability and qualifications for the particular position to be filled. Race, color, or national origin shall not be a factor in the hiring, promotion, or dismissal of teachers, principals, and other professional staff members....
>
> b. The Board of Education...will continue to review the existing policies...and, to the extent necessary, augment or amend the same in order to maintain applicable standards or criteria for determining the suitability of applicants for employment and transfer, to be applied in a racially non-discriminatory manner. These criteria will include the following:
>
> (1) Certification; (2) National Teachers' Examination Grades; (3) Earned Professional Degrees; (4) Experience; (5) Scholastic Record;

(6) Recommendations and Reputation; (7) Demonstrated Teaching Ability; (8) Intelligence; and (9) Personality and Ability to Communicate with others.

c. Teachers and other professional personnel shall not be dismissed, demoted, retained or passed over for reemployment or promotion on the grounds of race, color, or national origin. In any instance where one or more teachers or other professional staff personnel are to be displaced as a result of desegregation, no staff vacancy in the system will be filled through recruitment from outside the system unless no such displaced staff member is qualified to fill the vacancy. In the event there is a reduction in a primary or grammar grade level, or junior or senior high school area, the qualifications of all teachers in such level or area in which the teachers affected are qualified will be evaluated, without consideration of race, in order to determine which teachers are not to be re-employed.

d. In the recruitment and employment of new teachers and other professional personnel, all applicants or other prospective employees shall be informed that the Board operates a racially desegregated school system and that teachers are subject to assignment in the best interests of the school system without consideration of their race or color, or the race or color of the students attending the particular school...."

Table 5 summarizes the ethnic composition of staff in the Durham City Schools one year prior to desegregation, and compares it with current staffing in order to determine what effects desegregation has had on numbers and percentages. As for classroom teachers, there was a total of 571 in the district in 1969-70, one year prior to desegregation. Three hundred and three (303) or 53% of these teachers were white, and 268 or 47% were black. Currently, there are 537 teachers 276 or 53% white and 47% black. One notes that in spite of the fact that the student ratio has become 70% black/30% white the teaching staff's ratio has remained the same.

Other changes reflected in Table 5 are: (1) in 1969-70 the district had two (2) assistant superintendents, both of whom were white; currently there is one black assistant superintendent and one white; (2) the total number of white supervisors decreased by three while there was a corresponding increase of four (4) in blacks. Blacks and whites increased in numbers at the central staff level, but there was a larger percentage increase in blacks. There was a 15% increase of black clerical staff in the district as compared to a 15% decrease in whites. What was a 52% white/48% black ratio in principalships in 1969-70 reversed itself to become 52% black/48% white. The same happened with vice-principals with the current ratio being 44% white/56% black.

TABLE 5

A Comparison of Full-Time Staff
One Year Prior To Desegregation And
Currently

Titles	Currently Total	Currently White No.	Currently White %	Currently Non-White No.	Currently Non-White %	One Year Prior to Desegregation Total	One Year Prior to Desegregation White No.	One Year Prior to Desegregation White %	One Year Prior to Desegregation Non-White No.	One Year Prior to Desegregation Non-White %
Superintendent	1	1	100%			1	1	100%		
Associate Superintendent	1	1	100%			1	1	100%		
Assistant Superintendent	2	1	50%	1	50%	2	2	100%		
Supervisors	19	10	53%	9	47%	18	13	72%	5	28%
Other Central Office Staff (Excluding Clerical Staff)	28	14	50%	14	50%	21	2	57%	9	43%
Clerical Staff	22	15	75%	7	25%	19	17	90%	2	10%
Principals	25	12	48%	13	52%	25	13	52%	12	48%
Vice Principals	16	7	44%	9	56%	16	9	56%	7	44%
Counselors	13	7	54%	6	48%	12	5	42%	7	58%
Librarians	26	11	42%	15	58%	27	15	56%	12	44%
Classroom Teachers	537	276	53%	261	47%	571	303	53%	268	47%
TOTAL	690	355	51%	335	49%	713	391	55%	322	45%

Student Preparation and Involvement

Neither the writer nor the study team saw written documentation on how students were involved in or prepared for the changes that were inherent in the desegregating of their schools. However, some of the students interviewed at one high school recalled vaguely some special attempts the school made to introduce them to impending changes.

Community Preparation and Involvement

The team found very little written information about community preparation for or involvement in the desegregation plan. Fleeting comments were made of efforts made by a community group "Women In Action" which set up and operated a facility in the downtown area aimed at answering questions of parents, students and public about the location of schools, the changed boundaries, the desegregation plan itself, and any other queries that were raised in the context of school desegregation. The writer is not sure about whether or not this group is affiliated with the League of Women Voters. However, several interviewers mentioned that the latter group was generally supportive of the Board and whenever possible helped to articulate the Board's programs and plans.

During the latter part of the first year of desegregation a workshop devoted to the problems of the schools, called a school charrette was held in the community. According to an article written by Lawrence Wright entitled "A Slow Dance With Progress," published in Race Relations Reporter, "The charrette was widely attended and a cathartic experience for the community. It produced a list of recommendations for improving the schools... However, the school board did not implement a single recommendation referred by the charrette."

CHAPTER IV

PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES INCIDENT TO DESEGREGATION

It isn't unusual for school districts who voluntarily decide to desegregate its schools, or for those who have been ordered to do so to alter the program offerings in some, if not all of its schools. Similarly, procedures and practices that were heretofore considered routine have undergone change to better fit the newness of the situation. An attempt was made to determine what, if any, programmatic changes and changes in procedures and practices accompanied the desegregation process in Durham.

Issues During the Desegregation Process

What were the major issues in the community and in the school personnel ranks that emerged during the planning and implementation of the district's desegregation plan? This question was asked of several individuals in different ways. For example one school official was given a list of factors and asked to reflect upon the degree to which they were issues during the desegregation process. His response is listed below:

	Not at All	To a Minimal Degree	Some Degree	Great Degree
Busing				X
Proposed new schools		X		
Boundary changes			X	
Closing certain schools			X	
Open enrollment		X		
Overcrowding in schools	X			
Grouping procedures		X		
Student conflict			X	

	Not at All	To a Minimal Degree	Some Degree	Great Degree
Staff transfer or demotion	X			
Treatment of minority children by school personnel		X		
Upgrading existing schools		X		
Integrating staff		X		
Increasing minority staff		X		
Increasing minority representation on school board			X	
Other (specify)				

As can be seen from the checklist, busing was considered the basic issue, in comparison with other factors listed. Boundary changes, closing of certain schools, student conflict and increasing minority representation on the school board were seen as the issues that, next to busing, had the most impact on the process. In the opinion of this official, the other issues listed on the checklist had little or no impact on the process. He did not list additional issues that might have influenced it.

Without specifying factors or issues, most principals who were interviewed (seven of the eight interviewed) were asked to cite the main issues that emerged during the planning and implementation of their school's plan. The only recurring theme (listed by three principals) was the matter of academic standards coupled with course offering restrictions. They voiced that several parents and patrons were concerned about whether the schools, especially at the secondary level, would experience declining or lowered academic standards, and whether course offerings would become more narrowly defined. There were only a few other issues cited, e.g., fear of interracial dating, concerns about how teachers would handle different types of students, desires expressed for numerical equality as far as black/white

staff was concerned. In neither instance was busing, the closing of certain schools, boundary changes or even student conflict mentioned.

With the matter of issues, or perceived issues, at least partially exposed, an attempt was made to determine how the district and its personnel addressed them via programs, practices and procedures.

Special Funded Programs

The October 9, 1970 issue of the Durham Herald carried a story "City Schools Get $229,783 For Desegregation Expenses." The story made reference to ESAP funds sought by the district for "teacher preparation programs, student-to-student programs, curriculum revisions, special community programs and pupils personnel services.... One of the program's priorities is a system of improved evaluation of individual students. The curriculum changes will involve three basic areas--the incorporation of courses on history and arts of minority groups, the promotion of drug abuse information and a 'multi-level and multi-ethnic approach' to the teaching of heterogeneous groups in classes." The grant received was about 72% of the $317,482 requested. Some of the funds requested for student counselors and tutorial teams were not approved.

Curriculum Changes, Organizational Changes and Teaching Techniques

As was alluded to in Chapter II one of the results of the plan was the pairing of some elementary schools in the district. The district was heretofore organized on 6-3-3 plan. With the advent of desegregation, six elementary schools underwent a change in organization. As Table 2 shows, two schools previously with a population of students in grades 1-6 became

schools with students in grades 1-2. They were paired with schools with grades 3-6. Another former 1-6 grade school became a school for grades 1-3 and it was paired with one that housed grade 4-6 students.

Two (2) of the six (6) schools that were affected by organizational changes were among the eight (8) schools visited during the study in the district. In light of the organizational changes which necessitated some movement of teachers and students, and ESAP funds awarded to help with curriculum revisions and other teacher-student programs, principals and teachers were asked to summarize changes in their school's curriculum that resulted from the desegregation process. No unanimity was found in responses; in fact very few specifics were identified. At the elementary level one principal stated that his school has focused on individualized instruction and has adopted an individual language arts program, the Individualized Mathematics System (IMS) and the multi-age grouping concept. Another principal also cited an interest in individualization stating that his school uses an individualized mathematics program and more multi-level materials. One principal stated that he and his faculty elected to return to a self-contained structure, from the "Joplin Plan," because of the changes that took place in the student population. Most principals and teachers at the elementary level suggested that no curriculum changes of consequence took place when desegregation went into effect. There was recognition of a need to address different learning needs, styles, and paces, but except for some multi-level materials emerging, they could cite no formal changes.

At the secondary level the interviewers could not get a sense that many major changes had occurred as a result of the desegregation process.

The introduction of black studies was the most frequently mentioned change that took place. One of the high schools indicated that it made some adjustments in its curriculum; e.g., it attempted to up-grade vocational education so that it wouldn't be seen as a 3-hour block that's attractive only for a certain segment of students; it added one-hour courses and two-hour courses as well.

In summary, principals and their staffs appeared to have a great deal of autonomy in determining curriculum for their schools, within understandable constraints, e.g., state requirements, money, etc. This probably accounts in part for the lack of unanimity observed in changes in curriculum across schools. From interviews one surmises that few curriculum changes of major consequence appeared to accompany desegregation in schools district-wide.

Student Assignment and Grouping Practices

On May 25, 1972 one of the local newspapers carried an article entitled, "Critique on Desegregation Draws Differing Opinions." It referred to a report prepared by The Alabama Council on Human Relations, American Friends Service Committee, Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Southern Regional Council and Washington Research Project on the status of school desegregation in forty-three (43) southern cities eighteen years after Brown v. Board of Education. The article stated, "City schools are...criticized for tending to resegregate pupils in classrooms by grouping according to ability. Pupils are placed in academic or vocational study "tracks" but the vocational track is primarily for blacks... Once in the track, the student is locked in it. Blacks feel vocational training is the school system's only response to its previous failure to provide an adequate education for black children."

"What are the grouping procedures for assigning students to classrooms?" was asked of principals. In each case, except one at the elementary level, some form of heterogeneous grouping was being used, accompanied by skill groupings within classrooms for instruction, where individualized approaches do not exist. In the one exception the principal stated that his school assigns students homogeneously with "high, middle and low groups, with racial balance as equal as you can be." Teachers were in basic agreement with the opinions offered by principals at the elementary level.

At the junior level most of the professional staff interviewed said that students are both assigned and grouped heterogeneously across schools and within classes. The principal at Carr Junior High School asserted that there is "complete mixture of all levels of academic difficulty in all classes" in his school. Table 6 shows the numbers and percentages of blacks and whites assigned to some key classes at Carr. Percents of blacks and whites assigned to classes are rather similar to the 61% black/39% white racial make up of the student body.

Table 7 shows a similar racial distribution of students in key classes at Whitted Junior High. As with Carr Junior High, the racial percentages in each class listed on the table is reflective of the 93% black/7% white racial composition of the student body at Whitted.

Similar data for high schools as found on Tables 6 and 7 were not available for this report. But, when asked to share their perceptions of grouping and assignment patterns at this level, professional staff interviewed at this level were in disagreement on the extent to which one's ability serves as a basis for his/her assignment or grouping. There was no pattern of disagreement

by race. Some staff stated that groupings only occur to the extent that students make choices. Some expressed that students are tracked in faster or slower classes but not according to race. Some stated that there is "hidden ability grouping" or "subtle groupings" which result in blacks being disproportionately represented in such classes as exceptionally talented classes in English, and other advanced courses in mathematics and science.

A total of 76 students in grades 10-12 at both high schools, who were in study halls during the onsite visit, were asked to respond to three items on a Student Interview form, which dealt with program selection and assignment. The first question was "Which of the following best describes the program or course of study you are enrolled in?" Responses and their frequencies were as follows:

	Hillside High (N=27)		Durham High (N=51)	
	Black	White	Black	White
a. Advanced Placement		2		
b. College Preparatory	3	1	11	8
c. Business	3		2	4
d. Vocational	4	1	5	
e. General	11	1	13	8
f. Other	1			

These students were then asked "How was the program you are now enrolled in selected?" Their responses were:

	Hillside High (N=27)		Durham High (N=51)	
	Black	White	Black	White
a. my own choice	13	5	21	16
b. advised by my counselor	5		4	3
c. suggested by my parents	2		1	1
d. assigned to me	1		4	
e. other	1		1	

To get a measure of these students' satisfaction with their courses each was asked to respond to the question, "To what extent are you satisfied with your program of studies?" Responses were as follows:

	Hillside High (N=27)		Durham High (N=51)	
	Black	White	Black	White
a. very satisfied	2	1	2	2
b. satisfied	16	4	18	15
c. not very satisfied	4		8	3
d. not satisfied at all			3	

The consequences notwithstanding, students who answered these items expressed overwhelmingly that they selected their course of study and that they were satisfied with that selection.

TABLE 6

Racial Distribution of Students by
Subjects and Level of Difficulty
Carr Junior High School

Class	Grade	Level of Difficulty*	Total Number of Students	Number of Whites	Percent of Whites	Number of Blacks	Percent of Blacks
Physical Science	9		27	10	37%	17	63%
Physical Science	9		18	6	33%	12	67%
French	9		21	6	29%	15	71%
English	9		21	6	29%	15	71%
English	9		28	14	50%	14	50%
English	9		20	7	35%	13	65%
English	9		26	10	38%	16	62%
Spanish	9		16	6	38%	10	62%
Spanish	9		20	6	30%	14	70%
Algebra	9		29	14	48%	15	52%
Algebra	9		26	10	38%	16	62%
General Math	9		21	5	24%	16	76%
General Math	9		21	8	38%	13	62%

*Note by Principal-Complete mixture of all levels of all academic difficulty in all classes. Randomly assigned.

TABLE 7

Racial Distribution of Students by
Subjects and Level of Difficulty
J. A. Whitted Junior High School

43

Class	Grade	Level of Difficulty*	Total Number of Students	Number of Whites	Percent of Whites	Number of Blacks	Percent of Blacks
English	7	2	189	12	6%	177	94%
English	8	2	168	10	6%	158	94%
English	9	2	171	8	5%	163	95%
Math	7	2	189	12	6%	177	94%
Math	8	2	168	10	6%	158	94%
Math & Algebra	9	3	171	8	5%	163	95%

Extra-Curricular Activities

A part of the study of the Durham City Schools' efforts at desegregating its schools was focused on the extent to which there was an expansion of or contraction of extra-curricular activities at the secondary level. It was found that extra-curricular offerings were affected a little. Few were curtailed or stopped completely as a result of the process, for example, sock hops and modern dance at one junior high school.

An attempt was made to get a reading on the number and kinds of extra-curricular activities that were found in each of the schools visited at the upper levels, by determining ethnic participation and leadership patterns per team per school. Though the attempt met with minimal success (information only received from two schools), the results are below.

School Athletics

Table 8 shows the participatory patterns of students in school athletics at Carr Junior High School. It shows that the student participation in these four major athletic activities is closely associated with the 61%/39% black/white student body in the school. Table 9 shows the participatory pattern of students in school athletics at Whitted Junior High School. It reveals that athletic activities at this school were all-black as far as student participation was concerned. While the school's athletics are 100% black the school's student body is likewise 93% black. When looked at in the context of the school's racial composition, one gets a different picture as far as athletic participation at Whitted was concerned.

As was alluded to above these data were not available for other secondary schools visited.

School Clubs, Organizations and Other
Extra-Curricular Activities
(Exclusive of Varsity Athletic Teams)

Carr Junior High School provided data on the two major extra-curricular activities. The student council has a total of 22 members, 11 or 50% of whom are black and 11 or 50% of whom are white. The president is black and the vice president is white. There is also a 50/50 split in the cheer leaders which has a total of six (6) members. The first leader of the squad is white and the second is black.

Table 10 shows similar information of clubs and organizations at Whitted Junior High School. Two of the five activities listed, namely the cheer leaders and the dance group are all black. The student council and band have white participation which exceeds white enrollment in the school. The other organizations, chorus and student newspaper, more nearly reflect the black/white student ratio in the school.

Similar data were not available from other secondary schools visited.

TABLE 8

School Athletic Teams
Carr Junior High School

Team	Total Number of Team Members	Number of White Members	Percent of White Members	Number of Black Members	Percent of Black Members	Race of Leadership Per Team		
						Captain	Co-Captain	2nd Co-Captain
Baseball	14	5	36%	9	64%	black	white	black
Basketball	14	6	43%	8	57%	black	black	white
Football	13	6	46%	7	54%	white	black	black
Track	8	4	50%	4	50%	black	white	white

TABLE 9

School Athletic Teams
J. A. Whitted Junior High School

Team	Total Number of Team Members	Number of White Members	Percent of White Members	Number of Black Members	Percent of Black Members	Race of Leadership Per Team		
						Captain	Co-Captain	2nd Co-Captain
Football	39	0		39	100%	black	black	
Basketball	18	0		18	100%	black	black	
Baseball	21	0		21	100%	black	black	
Track	23	0		23	100%	black	black	
Tennis	15	0		15	100%	black	black	

TABLE 10

School Clubs, Organizations and Other Extra-Curricular Activities (Exclusive of Varsity Athletic Teams)
J. A. Whitted Junior High School

Organization, Club or Activity	Total Number of Members	Number of White Members	Percent of White Members	Number of Black Members	Percent of Black Members	Race of Leadership Per Organization		
						President	Vice President	Secretary
Student Council	110	15	14%	95	85%	black	black	
Dance Group	42	0		42	100%	black	black	
Cheer leaders	10	0		10	100%	black	black	
Band	48	7	15%	41	85%	black	black	
Chorus	45	2	4%	43	96%	black	black	
Student Newspaper	22	2	9%	20	91%	black	black	

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS TOWARD PLAN, PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

Sweeping changes similar to those which accompany the desegregation process often result in a discrepancy between the perceptions and attitudes of those who administer those changes and those who are administered unto. Perceptions and attitudes are often clouded by the forces which brought the process into being and are otherwise affected by the way the process is managed. Chapter V records the feelings, opinions or attitudes of diverse groups of persons in the Durham City Schools about the district's desegregation plan and the programs and practices that accompanied it.

The Plan

Perceptions of Principals

During the onsite visit to this district eight (8) principals were interviewed, four (4) in elementary schools, two (2) in junior high schools, and two (2) in senior high schools. Each was asked to respond to the statements below:

1. Describe how you were involved in the district's desegregation plan.
2. Describe the way(s) you were affected by the plan and your feelings about such.

While each principal had a knowledge of the plan all but one (1) suggested that they had no direct involvement in the development of the plan. The one (1) exception indicated that he was involved in the setting up of an educational course at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill that dealt with the integration process, and he "worked on the state level" with

problems of integration by virtue of this chairmanship of the Durham Human Relations Commission. Other examples of involvement were given but, like the one previously stated, they were divorced from the conceptualization of the district's plan.

As for ways the principals were affected by the change and their feeling about such, most of the answers given dealt more with what happened to their schools organizationally, rather than what happened to them. For example, one previously all-white elementary school and the previously all-white high school mentioned that their school population had shifted to majority black and to a lower SES type student. Two schools mentioned that they were paired. One principal mentioned that he was transferred. Some principals suggested that the change had little or no measureable effect on them.

Perceptions of Teachers

In Chapter III the writer recorded the responses given by 24 teachers to a series of questions that revealed their knowledge of the district's plan. To summarize, 20 or 81% stated that they knew about the plan, two (2) or 9% had no knowledge of it. There was ambivalence about how they became familiar with the plan or the extent to which the school officials articulated the plan. Six (6) or 25% indicated there was no articulation from school officials; eight (8) or 33% learned of the plan through announcements in the news media; and six (6) or 25% learned about the plan by attending Board of Education meetings. Fourteen (14) or 58% of these respondents stated that they had no involvement in the planning of the integration plan, five (5) or

21% did not respond to the query and four (4) or 17% recalled a minimal involvement through such organizations as the city teachers' association or the "Women In Action."

Additional questions were asked of teachers that were not recorded in Chapter III. These questions dealt primarily with the perceptions of the teachers about the impact the plan had upon them, and the way the plan is currently working.

1. What were the major concerns of faculty and staff over the integration plan?

Concern of black teachers being accepted by white teachers and students and vice versa	- 4
Movement of faculty who had often worked "long and hard together"	- 3
How to discipline, teach and otherwise deal with lower SES types	- 3
Don't know	- 6
No major concerns	- 3
No answer	- 5

2. How did the district respond to those concerns?

No response or nothing	- 9
Open communication through Human Relations Commission	- 1
Provided audio-visual aides and workshops in reading	- 1
Superintendent talks and workshops	- 1
Sent out questionnaires about feelings	- 1
Talked with different community groups	- 1
No answer	-10

3. What were the major concerns of parents and the community over the plan?

Blacks afraid of getting unfair treatment; whites of lowered standards	- 2
Black worried about how their children would be received	- 1
Whites afraid of attacks and intimidation by blacks, afraid white kids would learn derogatory things from blacks	- 1
Loss of blacks' identity	- 1
Don't know	- 5
Whites afraid of black teachers' disciplinary methods	- 1
Whites against busing and racial mixture	- 5
Whites becoming the minority	- 1
Parents had no concerns	- 1
Whites concerned about different language patterns of blacks	- 1
Loss of experienced black teachers to "White schools"	- 1
Fairness of white teachers to blacks and incompetence of black teachers	- 1
No answer	- 3

4. How did the district respond to those concerns?

District either didn't respond or did not respond well	- 6
Workshops and community meetings	- 3
Superintendent dealt with parents directly	- 1
Don't know or not sure	- 4
No answer	-10

5. What is being done now on an on-going basis to improve the integration efforts?

Individual school programs by PTA	- 1
Nothing	-13
Voluntary workshops	- 2
All new teachers have a workshop at the beginning of their first term; Human Relations Week at both high schools	- 1
Human Relations meetings with staff	- 1
No answer	- 5
"Self-study evaluation" included a section on integration	- 1

6. What communications or directions have you received from the central office to guide you in effecting integration?

Received booklet on integration	- 3
Rules and regulations as per usual	- 1
Situation now stable, don't need such	- 1
Nothing	-13
No answer	- 6

7. What communications or directions have you received from your principal to guide you in effecting integration?

Verbal reminders in faculty meetings	- 3
Received booklet on "Getting Along"	- 1
Verbal guidelines	- 1
Nothing	-13
No answer	- 6

8. In general, how would you say integration is working in your school?

Working fine, very well, quite well very smoothly, excellent	-10
Having the best year of four	- 1
Reasonably well, okay, improving	- 6
We don't have integration and only partially desegregation	- 1
It's not working, it's a failure, not working well	- 6

9. In summary, what would you say were the key factors which led to successful integration?

Forced integration, no way out, and faculty cooperation	- 2
Upper middle class white students are "liberal thinkers" and accepting students	- 2
Good faculty relationship and cooperation	- 4
Principal is positive and fair	- 2
Human relations workshop, learning through living and intelligence of staff	- 6
Determination by town that it could work	- 2
Not working successfully	- 6

(Some of the reasons given for the lack of success of the plan were: "people in positions are concerned about 'image,' not making it work"; "attitudes over-all poor"; "There is too much 'Black Power' and rhetoric--no 'brain power'; "dictatorial administrations.")

Perceptions of Counselors

As was alluded to in Chapter III five (5) guidance counselors in the district were interviewed. Four (4) of the five (5) responded that they were familiar with the plan. The fifth one had a vague notion of what it was all about. They were not involved in planning for integration, and like teachers indicated they learned about the plan through the news media.

The series of questions asked of teachers were repeated with counselors. The pattern of responses with counselors was as varied as it was with teachers. The writer has summarized those responses below:

1. On faculty and staff concerns--All concerned about having to leave old schools; blacks concerned about whites' attitudes of superiority, whites' inability to accept blacks; whites feared disciplining black students and teaching different kinds of students.
2. On district's response to concerns--Three (3) felt that workshops and verbal assurances were adequate responses; two (2) said that there were no responses.
3. On parent and community concerns--Whites feared interracial dating, harsh disciplinary methods, lowering of quality of education, and busing. Blacks feared unfair treatment, closing of black schools and busing.
4. On current efforts made to improve integration--All agreed that little or nothing is being done.

5. On success of integration in their schools--Responses varied--one (1) rated it "fair," one (1) "okay," one (1) "not successfully," and one (1) "it couldn't be better," and one (1) "very successful."
6. On key factors of success--Cooperation of faculty and staff, the movement of high SES whites into the black schools, positive attitude toward the process and good communication across the board were cited.

Social and Friendship Patterns of Faculty, Staff and Students

Faculty, staff and students were asked in interviews to share their perceptions of the social and friendship patterns that have emerged since schools in the district were desegregated. Their responses are recorded below:

Perceptions of Principals

Student/Student Interaction:

Principals interviewed were asked to respond to the question "To what extent do students group themselves in the following: 1) Before/after school, 2) Lunchroom, 3) Assemblies, 4) Classrooms, and 5) School events?"

Principals in elementary schools responded differently depending upon whether students walked or were bused. Two principals whose students were bused indicated that there was not much interaction between white and black students generally. The two whose students walked to and from school reported that students interact freely.

Junior high principals indicated that there does not appear to be reluctance on the part of their students generally to interact before and during school. The picture was not as clear as far as after school contacts were concerned.

In the high schools there appeared to be a bit more isolation. While there is little interaction during school, there appears to be even less after school.

Teacher/Teacher Interaction:

Attempts were made during interviews with principals to determine the extent to which black and white teachers group themselves before/after school, in lunchrooms, in lounge areas, and at teachers' meetings. The general pattern found was that teachers co-mingled during working hours, but the suspicion was that such was not carried over to after school hours very much.

Teachers' Perceptions

Student/Student Interaction:

"To what extent do students group themselves in the following?

a. Before/after school

b. Lunchrooms

c. Assemblies

d. Classrooms

e. School events."

The above questions was posed to teachers who were interviewed. As might be expected answers varied considerably across classes within schools and across levels within the district. At the elementary level, the writer sorted out responses of teachers from schools whose students are bused, and those whose students walk. It appeared as though the busing phenomenon had little effect on student/student interactional patterns, based on teacher responses. Even in instances where students walk to school, teacher responses ranged

from no interaction to very free interaction during school hours. There was consensus that neighborhood patterns and other variables mitigate against social contact outside of the school environment.

Teachers' responses at the junior high level were quite different in the two schools visited. In Carr Junior High School teachers expressed that students mix very well in school, and are beginning to do more of the same after school. In Whitted Junior High teachers expressed that students co-mingle well at school, but suggested that neighborhood patterns and busing among other things prevented after school contact.

As a general rule teachers interviewed in the high schools, regardless of school or subject matter taught, stated that community friendship groups tended to influence the school friendship patterns. While they did not recount any overt attempts by students of different races to isolate themselves from each other during school hours, the natural result of mingling with community friendship groups is a lack of across race friendship patterns emerging within school. These teachers agreed also that community friendship patterns as well as differences in SES prevent the establishment of friendship patterns after school.

Students' Perceptions

Student/Student Interaction:

The following section lists responses (some verbatim) of some students who were interviewed in group sessions held in Carr Junior High and Durham High and Hillside High Schools. Though the sample is not large nor is it necessarily representative, the writer included the responses because he believed they added an interesting dimension to the study of attitudes.

Group A - Five black students--Carr Junior High school

Interviewer - Is there black/white student interaction during school or after school? Have there been any recent incidents of tension or conflict?

Students - There was consensus that there is some interaction during school. One student, put it, "I won't say there's a lot, or a little. But, we do get together." Most felt that interaction between the race is increasing both in and out of school. Currently, they agree that there is minimal contact outside school. They were unanimous in their expression that there has been no recent incidents of tension or conflict.

Group B - Five white students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - Is there black/white student interaction during school or after school? Have there been any recent incidents of tension or conflict?

Students - Students also expressed that there is interracial contact during school but that it is nil after school hours. They confirmed that there have been no recent incidents of conflict and ventured that the school is relatively free of tension.

Group C - Five white students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - In general how have white and black students co-mingled here?

Student - Not very well. While there is theoretical desegregation, there is practiced segregation. The differences in culture, class and economics force separation (one student speaking, others agreeing).

Interviewer - Can I assume that the separation you refer to carries over into your friendships after school.

Student - Quite definitely. Blacks like different things than I, they as a group have different priorities.

Interviewer - Would you explain?

Student - Take black boys, they are interested in talking about the girls, jiving around in the halls, lottering around the basketball courts and other things like that. They are not serious about their subjects, blacks in the choir or band don't care. I take pride in my school work, and before I came here I took pride in my school.

Interviewer - Has the latter changed? Do you have no sense of attachment to this school?

Student - I don't.

Interviewer - Would others of you like to comment on the emotional climate in the school?

Students - There was agreement that the school isn't likely to explode. While there is an awareness that people of different races inhabit the building, there is no attempt to do more with it than tolerate it.

Interviewer - Would you comment more specifically about friendship patterns outside the school? Do you have black friends, with whom you study, you visit or have visit your house?

Students - Students unanimously answered this question in the negative. Answers centered about the differences in life style, class, culture, and religion.

Group D - Five white students--Durham High School

Interviewer - Where would you find most of the black students in terms of hangouts, e.g., cafeteria, the lavatory, etc.?

Students - Out in front (of school) or in the cafeteria. Before school there's about 40 (boys) in the gym and then after school. I go in there and play basketball...I'm the only white in there. But it really doesn't bother me and they know who I am and I know them and we get along fine.

Students in general felt that there is more togetherness in their high school than there was in their respective junior high schools. There were no reports of tension between the races. Likewise, there were no reports or cross racial friendships that extended beyond the school into their more personal lives.

Group E - Five black students--Durham High School

Interviewer - Is there much black/white interaction in this school or after school? Have there been any recent racial incidents here?

Students - Students voiced that black and whites never get together after school or during lunch, and seldom during other times during school hours. Whites as a rule go off campus for lunch. Many blacks remain on campus for lunch because more of them are on free lunch. Students expressed opposition to the idea of going to the extreme with black/white interaction. The latter includes but goes beyond interracial dating. No recent conflicts were reported.

Group F - Five black students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - How much black/white interaction can one find here? What about after school? Any recent racial incidents here?

Students - These students expressed that there is no interaction before and after school. Because of class compositions, habits and other reasons there is also little interaction in school. They recalled one teacher giving a "pizza party" to encourage more interaction and the development of friendship patterns. Attendance was good but the results were nil. They mentioned that there is very little interracial dating (only three known couples). Neither black nor white really care for it. As for negative incidents, they recalled "one or two" that were not very significant.

Attitude Toward School and Teachers:

Each of the previously listed groups was asked a series of questions that gave a reading on their attitudes toward their teachers and their school. The responses (some verbatim) are listed below:

Group A - Five black students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - How do you feel about this school in general?

Student - One student tended to speak for the remainder on this question. He suggested that the school is good in a way. The teachers are good, especially the white. Some of the black students are big mouths, bullies.

Interviewer - Do you feel, then, that there is a real difference between black and white teachers?

Student - White teachers give more education than black. I always had a math problem before I came to this school. Now that I have a white teacher who tries to understand, I don't have as much trouble with math.

Interviewer - Do you feel other black students share your feelings?

Student - Some do and some don't. It depends on what they want out of school and what experiences they have had.

Interviewer - What's the best thing you like about school? What's the least thing?

Student - I like my friends and the activities that are going on (others cited classes and teachers). As for things students did not like they mentioned the ugliness and age of the building, the uncleanliness of the bathrooms and school in general.

Group B - Five white students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - In general, how do you feel about your school?

Student - It's okay. It's not strict here. We have more freedom than any other school.

Interviewer - Did it bother you that there would be lots of black students in your school?

Student - No. I wasn't afraid of getting "beat up on," like in other schools. If you don't start anything here you don't get into any hassles.

Interviewer - How do you feel about your teachers?

Students - Conversation revealed that teachers are liked or disliked, or respected or disrespected because of the amount of genuine interest they showed in students rather than because of race. Students voiced preference for teachers who demanded performance. When asked if more white than black, or vice versa, were found in the respected category, they indicated that they couldn't categorize by race.

Group C - Five white students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - How do you feel about this school in general?

Students - It was consensus that the school was of low quality, too easy for most white students found there.

Interviewer - What do you feel about the staff at the school?

Students - Students felt the staff generally had low expectation of the student body. They were critical of guidance indicating that it was nonfunctional.

Interviewer - Has desegregation posed any special problems for you other than those you alluded to?

Students - Students suggested that the school almost has no place in their lives, it's pretty much segregated and very much uninviting. There is not much school sprit and not much of a reason for putting oneself out for school.

Group D - Five white students--Durham High School

Interviewer - How do you feel about your school in general?

Student - Well, I had never been too crazy about school to begin with, but Durham High is alright. Everything is going along pretty good now that desegregation is already started. Like at first it was pretty rough but now everybody is okay and there are no problems.

Student - That's because this is his last year!

Interviewer - Why don't you like it?

Student - It is better than sitting at home...I don't like the faculty... One thing that I found odd about Durham High is that there is so much emphasis away from school activities, just academics.

Interviewer - How do the others of you find the school in general?

Student - I enjoy it, sometimes it gets a little rough. In a sense, I like the school. I kind of look at it like a tradition. My parents came here, and my brother and sister.

Interviewer - Do you think it changed much?

Student - I don't know. It may have fallen a little bit.

Interviewer - Academically?

Student - Well, I'd say the school spirit. In some cases it has fallen. They told me like people go to a basketball game or football game, and a lot of people showed up. But, now this is kind of changing...

Interviewer - How do you feel about the white teachers here? Do you feel any differences between relationships with the black teachers over your white teachers?

Student - I don't think its because they're white or black. I don't think there's any difference.

Student - This year I've got one white teacher and three black teachers and I get along fine with them but I don't know which is the best. It's hard to say. All of them in general are fine teachers. They want you to learn. Some teachers show prejudice toward whites or toward blacks but I can get along with anybody.

Interviewer - Do you think any particular group reaches out to you?

Student - No. I reach out to everybody because I've been a slow learner all my life, you know, it takes me a while to get something through my head. Like last year when I was over here, they just zipped through things like that and I didn't get a chance to catch anything but this year they take more time out. (Students were generally positive about the staff at Durham High. They cited instances where black and white teachers were not of their choosing, but indicated they looked at these as being undesirable teachers, not undesirable black teachers or undesirable white teachers.)

Group E - Five black students--Durham High School

Interviewer - How do you feel about your school in general?

Students - Students were not very enthused about the school. They expressed concern about the predominantly white administration. They were troubled by what they considered unfair treatment that blacks get.

Interviewer - How do you feel about your teachers, black and white?

Students - Students were quite vocal about the prejudices that they felt existed in the teaching ranks. They expressed that white teachers have a negative influence on the learning process of many blacks, damaging their self image and killing their aspirations to excel. Only two of the students had had a black teacher in this school, except as a substitute. In recalling their experiences with black teachers from junior high schools, they felt these teachers cared more than the ones they currently have.

Group F - Five black students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - How do you like your school? Why?

Students - Students indicated they like the school because it is majority black. They have a social life at this school, and they feel they can be themselves. The thing they liked least was what they perceived to be a lack of preparation they were receiving for competing in college.

Interviewer - How do you feel about your teachers, white and black?

Students - In general, students felt black teachers seem to care more that black kids make it than do white teachers. "Except for those white teachers fresh out of Duke, they don't relate to black kids." This hurts the latter because curriculum offerings and subject matter are pitched above the comprehension level of many blacks. Whites don't suffer the same effects because the prejudice against them is not as overt on the one hand, and the

home environments have equipped them to handle the subject matter on the other hand. Students expressed that in some instances white teachers give preferential treatment to white students when it comes to grades. Even when students don't measure up to their capabilities, they are often given the benefit of the doubt. These students didn't feel black students were given the same consideration.

In addition to asking some students to respond to a series of questions in group sessions, a sample of students in grades 10-12 from both high schools was asked on a Student Interview Form: "Do you think that most of your teachers are interested in you and really want to help you become successful in school?" Twenty-seven (27) students from Hillside High and fifty-one (51) students at Durham High School, all of whom were selected randomly from study halls during the time of the team's visit, responded. The grade-by-grade, school-by-school and race-by-race responses are listed below:

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 10--Hillside (N=8)				
5 B	4	50%	1	13%
3 W	1	13%	2	25%
Grade 10--Durham High (N=31)				
21 B	12	39%	4	13%
10 W	7	23%	3	10%
Grade 11--Hillside (N=13)				
12 B	11	85%	1	8%
1 W	1	8%	0	0%

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 11--Durham High (N=8)				
7 B	6	75%	1	13%
1 W	0	0%	1	13%
Grade 12--Hillside (N=6)				
5 B	4	67%	1	17%
1 W	1	17%	0	0%
Grade 12--Durham High (N=12)				
3 B	2	17%	1	8%
9 W	7	58%	2	17%

The percentages used are based on the total number of all students responding for a grade. Thus, the "Yes" responses for whites and those for blacks when totalled for a grade level serve as an indication of how students feel about the concern teachers have for their welfare. A quick glance shows that in each case the students were positive in their response to this question.

Another question students were asked to respond to was "Is there a teacher or staff member you can go to when you want to talk about some problem (school of personal) that bothers you?" The intent of the question was to augment previous readings on how students feel about their school's ability to respond to their academic and personal needs. Their responses were as follows:

	Choice			
	Yes		No	
	No.	%	No.	%
Grade 10--Hillside (N=8)				
5 B	2	25%	3	38%
3 W			3	38%
Grade 10--Durham High (N=31)				
21 B	16	52%	5	16%
10 W	3	10%	7	23%
Grade 11--Hillside (N=13)				
12 B	7	54%	5	38%
1 W	1	8%	0	0%
Grade 11--Durham High (N=8)				
7 B	5	63%	2	25%
1 W	1	13%		
Grade 12--Hillside (N=6)				
5 B	3	50%	2	33%
1 W	1	17%		
Grade 12--Durham High (N=12)				
3 B	1	8%	2	17%
9 W	4	33%	5	42%

The "No" responses were more pronounced on this question than on the previous one. This was true for each grade level for each race in each school, with the exception of Grade 11 at Durham High School.

Equality of Student Discipline

During the process of desegregation there have been numerous citations of differential treatment being used between the races. A major concern of many minority parents and students, as well as faculty and staff, has been the kind of treatment their children would be subjected to once change had occurred. During the onsite visit to Durham City Schools students and faculty and staff were asked questions about the quantity and the equality or inequality of discipline in their schools.

Five (5) of the eight (8) principals who were interviewed completed a School Information Form on which a section on Expulsions, Suspensions and Discipline was found. The section asked the respondents to give an estimate of the number and percent of expulsions by racial groups over the last twelve months, to give the major reasons for expulsions and to identify the proportion of suspension and other discipline cases that were attributable to majority and minority students.

Table 11 shows that there were no expulsions in the elementary schools. The suspension rate at Cl[illegible] Boulevard was given as 80% black and 20% white. This compares with a black/white enrollment of 54%/46%. The suspension rates at the other elementary schools were more in line with the racial breakdown of their student population.

Table 11 also shows that one student was expelled at Carr Junior High. The reason given for this expulsion was the student threatened the life of another student. Carr's 50% black/50% white suspension rate was not out of line with the racial make up of its student body. The same is true for the suspension rate at Whitted. At a glance the 98% black/2% white suspension rate appears to be racially skewed. However, it is not out of kilter with the 93% black/7% white student population that is found there.

TABLE 11
Expulsions, Suspensions and Discipline in
Five Durham City Schools

School	Total No. Expulsions	Percent Expulsions		Percent Suspensions	
		Black	White	Black	White
Elementary					
Club Boulevard	0	0	0	80%	20%
Holloway Street	0	0	0	1%	1%
Morehead	0	0	0	3	4
				(Numbers instead of % supplied)	
Junior High					
Carr	1	1	0		
	(Number Supplied instead of %)			50%	50%
Whitted	0	0	0	98%	2%

* As estimated by principals over the last 12 months

Perceptions of Teachers on Discipline

The following question was asked of teachers who were interviewed: "In terms of discipline, do you think black students are more of a problem than white students?" Fifteen (15) of the 25 respondents, or 60% responded "No" to this question. Two (2) respondents who neither answered yes or no stated, "Poor students are worst discipline problems," and "More blacks end up in the Dean's office. Whites eat more cheese." Two (2) teachers did not respond to the question. Six (6) or 24% of the respondents stated that blacks present more of the discipline problems than whites. Of the six (6) who answered "Yes," four (4) were black (two at the elementary level and two at the high school level). In most instances teachers who felt blacks to be more of a discipline problem attributed it to their low SES.

Teachers were also asked to respond to the question, "In terms of discipline, do you think black students are treated preferentially, more severely, or in any way differently than are white students?" Twenty-one (21) or 84% of the teachers responded "No" to this question; two (2) did not respond; one teacher responded "Yes" (explanation--"Black kids get suspended but not whites"); and one teacher answered, "It's according to the incident, the students and the teacher."

Perceptions of Counselors on Discipline

Five (5) counselors were asked the question, "In terms of discipline, do you see black students as being more of a problem than white students?" Three (3) of the five were high school counselors, two (2) of whom commented that they do not handle discipline problems. Such problems are turned over

to the deans. The other high school counselor indicated that "Black kids fight each other...They have home-related problems...The school shows no concern." Two (2) of the counselors were from junior high schools. Both responded that blacks were no more of a discipline problem than whites. One counselor ventured that it has been her experience that the non-reader, both black and white present the problems.

Each of the five (5) counselors responded "No" to the question "In terms of discipline, do you think black students are treated preferentially, more harshly, or in any way differently?"

Perceptions of Students on Discipline

Students in each of the group sessions were asked a question or a series of questions on the equality of treatment between black and white students as far as discipline is concerned. The questions and their responses follow:

Group A - Five black students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - Are the rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?

Students - The students were in accord that black and white are treated alike when they create problems. One student put it, "Blacks get it just like the whites." Another added, "The same thing happens the other way round."

Group B - Five white students--Carr Junior High School

Interviewer - Are the rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?"

Students - Students expressed that "there are few rules here." They stated that the rules against wearing hats appear to be directed towards the black population and also extends to girls wearing scarves. Other rules that exist appear to be equally enforced.

Group C - Five white students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - Are the rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?

Students - The students showed ambivalence on this question. They all agreed that "Mr. Alston cares about students." They considered him an asset to the school and a fair man.

Group D - Five white students--Durham High School

Interviewer - How about the way rules are enforced here? Are they enforced?

Student - I feel they are partly enforced. Some teachers enforce them and some don't...

Interviewer - Is that true with black and white students alike?

Student - Yes. I know one teacher, she's short and she won't let nobody tell her. She don't care how big they are. She don't take no junk from nobody...(the other students attested to the equality of discipline of black and white students as used by teachers with whom they had had contact).

Group E - Five black students--Durham High School

Interviewer - Are rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?

Students - Students complained that blacks are not fairly treated at this school. They felt the rules were unfair citing that much of the black culture, and things blacks liked were not understood nor tolerated by whites, e.g., the black fashions and fads, the black dialect, and black behavior in general. They did feel they could seek refuge in a black female counselor who was termed the salvation for many blacks who graduate.

Group F - Five black students--Hillside High School

Interviewer - Are rules of the school equally enforced between black and white kids?

Students - Students expressed doubt as to what the rules were. They felt that the administration was lenient on every one allowing them to "do what you want to do." They did not believe this mode of operation posed any problem for any one.

Attitudes Toward Opposite Race

Two forms of a Social Belief Inventory were administered to a total of 90 students (34 whites and 56 blacks) in grades 10-12 at both high schools in Durham. Form A was administered to white students and Form B to black. Administrations took place in study halls during the time of the onsite visit to each school. Participation on the part of the student was voluntary. The sample was not necessarily representative of the total school population.

The purpose of the inventory was to get an additional reading of students' beliefs about and cognitions of members of the opposite race, with the hopes of determining how such beliefs and cognitions affect their behavior toward the opposite race. The inventory was a Likert-type scale which asked students to indicate their agreement with each of twenty-three items by checking Stongly Agree, Agree, Unsure, Disagree or Stongly Disagree. A frequency check was made to determine the number and percentage of students who responded on each item.

Table 12-14 summarize items found on Form A, and Tables 15-17 summarize those found on Form B. The choices Strongly Agree, Agree, Unsure, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree were converted to values from one to five with one being Strongly Agree and five being Strongly Disagree.

TABLE 12

Male Responses (N=23)

Social Belief Inventory--Form A

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Color is not important in individual relationships.	No.	9	8	4	2	0
	%	39	35	17	9	0
2. Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.	No.	1	5	10	7	0
	%	4	22	43	30	0
3. White society is superior to minority group societies.	No.	1	2	3	6	10
	%	4	9	13	26	43
4. Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.	No.	6	11	6	0	0
	%	26	48	26	0	0
5. Minority groups are over-sensitive.	No.	4	8	4	7	0
	%	17	35	17	30	0
6. Minority groups must be controlled.	No.	1	5	5	5	6
	%	4	22	22	22	26
7. Most minority groups can handle Whites honest behavior and feelings.	No.	0	7	7	5	0
	%	0	30	30	22	0
8. Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes	No.	10	6	0	3	0
	%	48	26	0	13	0
9. Members of minority groups are not dependable.	No.	0	2	3	6	7
	%	0	9	13	26	30

TABLE 12 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. "Liberal" Whites are free of racism.	No.	0	2	3	6	7
	%	0	9	30	26	9
11. Minority persons are trying to use Whites.	No.	1	4	5	9	0
	%	4	17	22	39	0
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	3	14	2	0	0
	%	13	61	9	0	0
13. Minority groups want a responsible society.	No.	3	10	5	1	0
	%	13	43	22	4	0
14. The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other blacks.	No.	0	3	7	6	3
	%	0	13	30	26	13
15. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	No.	1	6	5	4	3
	%	4	26	22	17	13
16. Most minority groups are angry.	No.	1	8	5	3	2
	%	4	35	22	13	9
17. Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.	No.	0	2	5	10	4
	%	0	9	22	48	17
18. All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.	No.	1	5	5	8	4
	%	4	22	22	35	17

TABLE 12 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	1	2	3	10	5
	%	4	9	13	43	22
20. I may be a part of the problem.	No.	0	10	3	5	3
	%	0	43	13	22	13
21. When Blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.	No.	1	1	10	6	4
	%	4	4	43	26	17
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	No.	0	4	10	7	2
	%	0	17	43	30	9
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	0	3	2	5	13
	%	0	13	9	22	57

TABLE 13

Female Responses (N=11)

Social Belief Inventory--Form A

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Color is not important in individual relationships.	No.	3	5	2	1	0
	%	27	45	18	9	0
2. Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.	No.	1	2	4	4	0
	%	9	18	36	36	0
3. White society is superior to minority group societies.	No.	0	0	2	2	6
	%	0	0	18	18	55
4. Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.	No.	6	1	2	2	0
	%	55	9	18	18	0
5. Minority groups are over-sensitive.	No.	1	3	3	3	0
	%	9	27	27	27	0
6. Minority groups must be controlled.	No.	0	1	4	3	3
	%	0	9	36	27	27
7. Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.	No.	0	3	6	1	0
	%	0	27	55	9	0
8. Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.	No.	7	3	0	1	0
	%	64	27	0	9	0
9. Members of minority groups are not dependable.	No.	0	1	2	2	6
	%	0	9	18	18	55

TABLE 13 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. "Liberal" Whites are free of racism.	No.	0	2	3	5	1
	%	0	18	27	45	9
11. Minority persons are trying to use Whites.	No.	0	0	5	5	1
	%	0	0	45	45	9
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	8	2	1	0	0
	%	73	18	9	0	0
13. Minority groups want a responsible society.	No.	1	5	3	1	1
	%	9	45	27	9	9
14. The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other Blacks.	No.	0	2	2	4	3
	%	0	18	18	36	27
15. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	No.	0	3	1	5	1
	%	0	27	9	45	9
16. Most minority groups are angry.	No.	0	4	5	2	0
	%	0	36	45	18	0
17. Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.	No.	0	1	4	6	0
	%	0	9	36	55	0
18. All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.	No.	0	3	2	2	4
	%	0	27	18	18	36

TABLE 13 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	1	1	3	3	3
	%	9	9	27	27	27
20. I may be a part of the problem.	No.	1	7	1	2	0
	%	9	64	9	18	0
21. When Blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.	No.	0	1	3	2	4
	%	0	9	27	18	36
22. Black supervisors, meanagers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	No.	0	2	3	5	1
	%	0	18	27	45	9
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	0	1	1	3	6
	%	0	9	9	27	55

TABLE 14

Total Responses (N=34)

Social Belief Inventory--Form A

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Color is not important in individual relationships.	No.	12	13	6	3	0
	%	35	38	18	9	0
2. Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.	No.	2	7	14	11	0
	%	5	21	41	32	0
3. White society is superior to minority group societies.	No.	1	2	5	8	16
	%	3	6	15	24	47
4. Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.	No.	12	12	8	2	0
	%	35	35	24	6	0
5. Minority groups are over-sensitive.	No.	5	11	7	10	0
	%	15	32	21	29	0
6. Minority groups must be controlled.	No.	1	6	9	8	9
	%	3	18	26	24	26
7. Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.	No.	0	10	13	6	0
	%	0	29	38	18	0
8. Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.	No.	17	9	0	4	0
	%	50	26	0	12	0
9. Members of minority groups are not dependable.	No.	0	3	5	8	13
	%	0	9	15	24	38

TABLE 14 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. "Liberal" Whites are free of racism.	No.	0	4	10	11	3
	%	0	12	29	32	9
11. Minority persons are trying to use Whites.	No.	1	4	10	14	1
	%	3	12	29	41	3
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	11	16	3	0	0
	%	32	47	9	0	0
13. Minority groups want a responsible society.	No.	4	15	8	2	1
	%	12	44	24	6	3
14. The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other Blacks.	No.	0	5	9	10	6
	%	0	15	26	29	18
15. Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.	No.	1	9	6	9	4
	%	3	26	18	26	12
16. Most minority groups are angry.	No.	1	12	10	5	2
	%	3	35	29	15	6
17. Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.	No.	0	3	9	16	4
	%	0	9	26	47	12
18. All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.	No.	1	8	7	10	8
	%	3	24	21	29	24

TABLE 14 (CONTINUTED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	2	3	6	13	8
	%	6	9	18	38	24
20. I may be a part of the problem.	No.	1	17	4	7	3
	%	3	50	12	21	9
21. When Blacks move into an all-white neighborhood, the value of property will decrease.	No.	1	2	13	8	8
	%	3	6	38	24	24
22. Black supervisors, meanagers and administrators are appointed because they are black.	No.	0	6	13	12	3
	%	0	18	38	35	9
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	0	4	3	8	19
	%	0	12	9	24	56

TABLE 15

Male Responses (N=31)

Social Belief Inventory--Form B

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.	No.	2	5	19	3	2
	%	6	16	61	10	6
2. The best way to be seen is to be heard.	No.	8	14	2	5	2
	%	26	45	6	16	6
3. Whites can not and will not change except by force.	No.	4	3	12	11	1
	%	13	10	39	35	3
4. White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	4	11	9	6	1
	%	13	35	29	19	3
5. Whites are distrustful.	No.	4	5	12	10	0
	%	13	16	39	32	0
6. Whites must deal on minority group terms now.	No.	4	15	9	3	1
	%	13	48	26	10	3
7. Some whites can help and "do their own thing."	No.	6	10	6	1	1
	%	19	32	19	3	3
8. Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.	No.	4	13	3	3	1
	%	13	42	10	10	3
9. Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.	No.	2	4	10	7	1
	%	6	13	32	23	3

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.	No.	7	11	4	1	1
	%	23	35	13	3	3
11. Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.	No.	1	7	12	2	2
	%	3	23	39	6	6
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	7	11	2	4	0
	%	23	35	6	13	0
13. White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	No.	1	5	11	5	1
	%	3	16	35	16	3
14. The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.	No.	4	8	5	5	1
	%	13	26	16	16	3
15. Some whites have "Soul."	No.	4	7	6	5	2
	%	13	23	19	16	6
16. All whites are racists.	No.	1	2	11	8	2
	%	3	6	35	26	6
17. Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.	No.	3	7	12	7	1
	%	10	23	39	23	3
18. All whites are alike.	No.	1	2	6	12	9
	%	3	6	19	39	29

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	4	10	8	3	6
	%	13	32	26	10	19
20. I may be part of the problem.	No.	2	5	9	10	4
	%	6	16	29	32	13
21. Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.	No.	0	1	13	9	7
	%	0	3	42	29	23
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	No.	1	16	6	2	1
	%	13	52	19	6	3
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	2	2	6	9	11
	%	6	6	19	29	48

TABLE 16

Female Responses (N=25)

Social Belief Inventory--Form B

Item	Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.	No.	2	6	14	2	0
	%	8	24	56	8	0
2. The best way to be seen is to be heard.	No.	4	6	7	5	2
	%	16	24	28	20	8
3. Whites can not and will not change except by force.	No.	1	7	9	7	0
	%	4	28	36	28	0
4. White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	5	6	8	5	0
	%	20	24	32	20	0
5. Whites are distrustful.	No.	1	5	14	2	1
	%	4	20	56	8	4
6. Whites must deal on minority group terms now.	No.	1	6	12	2	0
	%	12	24	48	8	0
7. Some whites can help and "do their own thing."	No.	5	14	3	0	0
	%	20	56	12	0	0
8. Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.	No.	5	13	4	0	0
	%	20	52	16	0	0
9. Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.	No.	2	5	11	4	0
	%	8	20	44	16	0

TABLE 16 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.	No.	6	12	3	1	0
	%	24	48	12	4	0
11. Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.	No.	0	6	10	6	0
	%	0	24	40	24	0
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	4	11	4	3	0
	%	16	44	16	12	0
13. White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	No.	0	3	14	3	2
	%	0	12	56	12	8
14. The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.	No.	4	6	9	2	1
	%	16	24	36	8	4
15. Some whites have "Soul."	No.	2	7	6	2	5
	%	8	28	24	8	20
16. All whites are racists.	No.	0	0	8	13	1
	%	0	0	32	52	4
17. Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.	No.	1	4	10	7	0
	%	4	16	40	28	0
18. All whites are alike.	No.	1	1	2	13	6
	%	4	4	8	52	24

TABLE 16 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	2	1	9	7	4
	%	8	4	36	28	16
20. I may be part of the problem.	No.	0	9	9	3	2
	%	0	36	36	12	8
21. Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.	No.	0	3	2	8	10
	%	0	12	8	32	40
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	No.	6	6	7	2	2
	%	24	24	28	8	8
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	1	1	5	13	3
	%	4	4	20	52	12

TABLE 17

Total Responses (N=56)

Social Belief Inventory--Form B

Item	Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
1. Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.	No.	4	11	13	5	2
	%	7	20	59	9	4
2. The best way to be seen is to be heard.	No.	12	20	9	10	4
	%	21	36	16	18	7
3. Whites can not and will not change except by force.	No.	5	10	21	18	1
	%	9	18	38	32	2
4. White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.	No.	9	17	17	11	1
	%	16	30	30	20	2
5. Whites are distrustful.	No.	5	10	26	12	1
	%					
6. Whites must deal on minority group terms now.	No.	7	21	20	5	1
	%	13	38	36	9	2
7. Some whites can help and "do their own thing."	No.	11	24	9	1	1
	%	20	43	16	2	2
8. Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.	No.	9	26	7	3	1
	%	16	46	13	5	2
9. Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.	No.	4	9	21	11	1
	%	7	16	38	20	2

TABLE 17 (CONTINUED)

Item	Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages					
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
10. Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.	No.	13	23	7	2	1
	%	23	41	13	4	2
11. Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.	No.	1	13	22	8	2
	%	2	23	39	14	4
12. Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.	No.	11	22	6	7	0
	%	20	39	11	13	0
13. White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.	No.	1	8	25	8	3
	%	2	14	45	14	5
14. The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.	No.	8	14	14	7	2
	%	14	25	25	13	4
15. Some whites have "Soul."	No.	6	14	12	7	7
	%	11	25	21	13	13
16. All whites are racists.	No.	1	2	19	21	3
	%	2	4	34	38	5
17. Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.	No.	4	11	22	14	1
	%	7	20	39	25	2
18. All whites are alike.	No.	2	3	8	25	15
	%	4	5	14	45	27

TABLE 17 (CONTINUED)

Item		Item Responses--Numbers and Percentages				
	Score	1	2	3	4	5
19. Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.	No.	6	11	17	10	10
	%	11	20	30	18	18
20. I may be part of the problem.	No.	2	14	18	13	6
	%	4	25	32	23	11
21. Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.	No.	0	4	15	17	17
	%	0	7	27	30	30
22. Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.	No.	10	22	13	4	3
	%	18	39	23	7	5
23. There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.	No.	3	3	11	22	14
	%	5	5	20	39	25

After obtaining a frequency count for each item an attempt was made to determine which items in the inventory were highly related to each other. For this purpose the statistical technique of factor analysis was used. The purpose of factor analysis in this case would be to identify clusters of interrelated items in order to clarify the conceptual content of the questionnaire, and to aid in the removal of highly specific and uninformative items.

On the basis of item intercorrelations a table of factor loadings was obtained using the conventional method of principal factor analysis (Tucker communality estimates, Kaiser's latent root one criterion for number of factors) followed by varimax and promax rotation.

The factor analysis is useful for identifying homogeneous subsets of items and can be regarded as a descriptive classification of the items on each instrument. In this case it resulted in the identification of seven factors on each form. Items which have high loadings on each factor can be expected to be highly related in terms of their observed correlations. On the basis of the promax primary factor loadings the factors which appear below were identified. Also a table of correlation among the items with loadings $\pm$ .30 is presented for each factor.

Form A

Factor I--Belief in over-aggressiveness and exploitative tendencies of blacks.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.95	19	Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.
.78	5	Minority groups are over-sensitive.
.74	3	White society is superior to minority group societies.
-.72	1	Color is not important in individual relationships.
.53	6	Minority groups must be controlled.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.46	11	Minority group persons are trying to use whites.
-.41	2	Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--I

	19	5	3	1	6	11	2
19	-	.53	.58	-.51	.45	.37	-.09
5	.53	-	.51	-.33	.56	.55	.16
3	.58	.51	-	-.40	.69	.48	.06
1	-.51	-.33	-.40	-	-.38	-.38	.21
6	.45	.56	.69	-.38	-	.55	.35
11	.37	.55	.48	-.38	.55	-	.08
2	-.09	.16	.06	.21	.35	.08	-

Tables 12 and 13 give a comparison of responses, by sex, on each of the items relating to this factor. The comparisons for this and other factors are listed below. For the purpose of this study those responses, listed in percentages, are reported in three categories, Agree, Unsure and Disagree. Strongly Agree and Agree were combined as were Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Factor I--Items--Form A

19 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.

	Male	Female
A	13%	18%
U	13%	27%
D	65%	54%

5 Minority groups are over-sensitive.

A	52%	36%
U	17%	27%
D	30%	27%

		Male	Female
3 White society is superior to minority group societies.	A	13%	0%
	U	13%	18%
	D	67%	73%
1 Color is not important in individual relationships.	A	72%	72%
	U	17%	18%
	D	9%	9%
6 Minority groups must be controlled.	A	26%	9%
	U	22%	36%
	D	48%	49%
11 Minority group persons are trying to use whites.	A	39%	54%
	U	22%	45%
	D	21%	0%
2 Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.	A	30%	36%
	U	43%	36%
	D	26%	27%

Factor II--Belief in the interdependence of races.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
-.95	12	Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.
-.56	8	Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.
.56	2	Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.54	10	"Liberal" Whites are free of racism.
.48	11	Minority persons are trying to use whites.
.48	14	The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other Blacks.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--II

	12	8	2	10	11	14
12	-	.45	-.37	-.38	-.34	-.26
8	.45	-	-.42	-.43	-.33	-.41
2	-.37	-.42	-	.33	.08	.18
10	-.38	-.43	.33	-	.36	.41
11	-.34	-.33	.08	.36	-	.57
14	-.26	-.41	.18	.41	.57	-

Male/female responses for items in this factor were:

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

	Male	Female
A	74%	91%
U	9%	9%
D	0%	0%

8 Members of minority groups are individuals, with individual feelings, aspirations and attitudes.

A	74%	91%
U	0%	0%
D	13%	9%

2 Open recognition of color may embarrass minority groups.

A	26%	27%
U	43%	36%
D	30%	36%

10 "Liberal" Whites are free of racism.

	Male	Female
A	26%	27%
U	43%	36%
D	30%	36%

11 Minority persons are trying to use whites.

A	21%	0
U	22%	45%
D	39%	54%

14 The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against other Blacks.

A	13%	18%
U	30%	18%
D	49%	63%

Factor III--Belief of whites' knowledge of and understanding of black culture, competence and mannerisms.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
-.92	13	Minority groups want a responsible Society.
.63	18	All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behaviors.
-.63	4	Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.
-.38	11	Minority persons are trying to use whites.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--III

	13	18	4	11
13	-	-.46	.51	.06
18	-.46	-	-.58	.25
4	.51	-.58	-	-.20
11	.06	.25	-.20	-

Male/female responses for items in this factor were as follows.

13 Minority groups want a responsible society.

	Male	Female
A	56%	54%
U	22%	27%
D	48%	18%

18 All members of minority groups are pretty much alike in their attitudes and behavior.

A	26%	27%
U	22%	18%
D	52%	54%

4 Minority groups have a heritage of which they can be proud.

A	74%	64%
U	26%	18%
D	0%	18%

11 Minority persons are trying to use whites.

A	21%	0%
U	22%	45%
D	39%	54%

Factor--IV--Belief in the inferiority of blacks.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.67	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.
.50	14	The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against Blacks.
-.43	7	Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--IV

	22	14	7
22	-	.36	-.13
14	.36	-	-.55
7	-.13	-.55	-

Male/female responses for items on this factor were:

22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.

	Male	Female
A	39%	54%
U	43%	27%
D	17%	18%

14 The lower-class Black can be blamed for most of the prejudice against Blacks.

A	13%	18%
U	30%	18%
D	39%	63%

7 Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.

A	30%	27%
U	30%	55%
D	22%	9%

Factor--V--Belief in the need, desire and value of blacks being a part of white society.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.82	17	Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.
.65	23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.
.61	7	Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--V

	17	23	7
17	-	.39	.30
23	.39	-	-.04
7	.30	-.04	-

Male/female responses for items in this factor were:

17 Minority groups will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society.

	Male	Female
A	9%	9%
U	22%	36%
D	65%	55%

23 There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.

A	13%	9%
U	9%	9%
D	79%	82%

7 Most minority groups can handle Whites' honest behavior and feelings.

A	30%	27%
U	30%	55%
D	22%	9%

Factor VI--Belief in impatience of blacks with the ability of whites to empathize with minority probelms.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.90	16	Most minority groups are angry.
.77	15	Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor--VI

	16	15
16	-	.37
15	.37	-

When there are only one or two items in a factor, it is difficult to tell exactly what they mean; however, the one and two factor items are presented anyway. Male/female responses on items in this factor were as follows:

16 Most minority groups are angry.

	Male	Female
A	39%	36%
U	22%	45%
D	22%	18%

15 Whites cannot fully understand what it means to be a member of a minority group.

A	30%	27%
U	22%	9%
D	30%	54%

Factor VII--Belief in the worth of individuals, regardless of color.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.90	20	I may be a part of the problem.
-.59	1	Color is not important in individual relationships.
.35	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor VII

	20	1	22
20	-	-.23	.06
1	-.23	-	-.36
22	.06	-.36	-

Male/female responses were:

20 I may be a part of the problem.

	Male	Female
A	43%	73%
U	13%	9%
D	35%	18%

1 Color is not important in individual relationships.

A	9%	9%
U	17%	18%
D	74%	72%

22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are black.

A	17%	18%
U	43%	27%
D	39%	54%

Form B

Factor I--Belief in racist tendencies in whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.83	17	Whites are united in their attitude toward minority groups.
.73	19	Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.
.60	16	All whites are racists.
.56	18	All whites are alike.
.52	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.
.42	23	There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.
.42	13	White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.
.34	3	Whites cannot and will not change except by force.
.34	14	The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor I

	17	19	16	18	22	23	13	3	14
17	-	.49	.42	.54	.28	.34	.27	.27	.14
19	.49	-	.22	.22	.28	.34	.32	.23	.20
16	.42	.22	-	.50	.22	.17	.21	.18	.02
18	.54	.22	.50	-	.20	.41	.01	.47	.01
22	.28	.28	.22	.20	-	.12	.24	.18	.44
23	.34	.34	.17	.41	.12	-	.07	.16	.07
13	.27	.32	.21	.01	.24	.07	-	.20	.23
3	.27	.23	.18	.47	.18	.16	.20	-	.11
14	.14	.20	.02	.01	.44	.07	.23	.11	-

Tables 15 and 16 show a comparison of responses, by sex, on each of the items relating to this factor. The comparisons for this and other factors are listed below. As with the reporting of Form A results, responses are listed in percentages and are reported in three Categories, Agree, Unsure and Disagree. Strongly Agree and Agree were combined as were Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

Factor I--Items--Form B

17 Whites are united in their attitudes toward minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	33%	20%
U	39%	40%
D	26%	28%

19 Racial color is the real determinant of behavior.

A	45%	12%
U	26%	36%
D	29%	44%

16 All whites are racists.

	Male	Female
A	9%	0%
U	35%	32%
D	32%	56%

18 All whites are alike.

A	9%	8%
U	19%	8%
D	68%	76%

22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.

A	65%	48%
U	19%	28%
D	9%	16%

23 There should be laws restricting interracial marriage.

A	12%	8%
U	19%	20%
D	77%	64%

13 White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.

A	19%	12%
U	35%	56%
D	19%	20%

3 Whites cannot and will not change except by force.

A	23%	32%
U	39%	36%
D	38%	28%

14 The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.

	Male	Female
A	39%	40%
U	16%	36%
D	19%	12%

Factor II--Belief in the interdependence of races.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.74	8	Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.
.72	12	Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.
.68	10	Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.
.66	7	Some whites can help and "do their own thing."
.62	14	The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.
.46	22	Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor II

	8	12	10	7	14	22
8	-	.43	.64	.54	.23	.13
12	.43	-	.33	.31	.06	.18
10	.64	.33	-	.34	.36	.22
7	.54	.31	.34	-	.22	.09
14	.23	.06	.36	.22	-	.44
22	.13	.18	.22	.09	.44	-

Male/female responses on items in Factor II were:

8 Whites are human and, whether they should or not, do have their own hangups.

	Male	Female
A	55%	72%
U	10%	16%
D	13%	0%

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

	Male	Female
A	58%	60%
U	6%	16%
D	13%	12%

10 Discussion and cooperation are possible ways to achieve progress.

A	58%	72%
U	13%	12%
D	6%	4%

7 Some whites can help and "do their own thing."

A	51%	76%
U	19%	12%
D	6%	0%

14 The lower-class white is the root of racial prejudice against minorities.

A	39%	40%
U	16%	36%
D	19%	12%

22 Black supervisors, managers and administrators are appointed because they are qualified.

A	65%	8%
U	19%	20%
D	9%	64%

Factor III--Belief in the trustfulness and truthfulness of whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.71	5	Whites are distrustful.
.71	11	Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.
.65	9	Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.
.42	3	Whites cannot and will not change except by force.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor III

	5	11	9	3
5	-	.33	.39	.35
11	.33	-	.35	.27
9	.39	.35	-	.24
3	.35	.27	.24	-

Male/female responses on Factor III were as follows.

5 Whites are distrustful.

	Male	Female
A	29%	24%
U	39%	56%
D	32%	12%

11 Whites are always trying to use members of minority groups.

A	26%	24%
U	39%	40%
D	12%	24%

9 Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.

A	19%	28%
U	32%	44%
D	26%	16%

3 Whites cannot and will not change except by force.

A	23%	32%
U	39%	36%
D	38%	28%

Factor IV--Belief in humaneness of whites as evidenced by a change in their attitudes toward blacks.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.86	15	Some whites have "Soul."
.63	4	White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.
.39	13	White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.
-.34	18	All whites are alike.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor IV

	15	4	13	18
15	-	.32	.28	.33
4	.32	-	.20	.23
13	.28	.20	-	.01
18	.33	.23	01	-

Male/female responses for Factor IV:

15 Some whites have "Soul."

	Male	Female
A	36%	36%
U	19%	24%
D	22%	28%

4 White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.

A	48%	44%
U	29%	32%
D	22%	20%

13 White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.

A	19%	12%
U	35%	56%
D	19%	20%

18 All whites are alike.

	Male	Female
A	9%	8%
U	19%	8%
D	68%	76%

Factor V--Belief in the superiority of whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.91	20	I may be part of the problem.
.59	13	White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.
.39	12	Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor V

	20	13	12
20	-	-.43	.11
13	-.43	-	.04
12	.11	.04	-

Male/female responses on Factor V:

20 I may be part of the problem.

	Male	Female
A	22%	36%
U	29%	36%
D	45%	20%

13 White persons on the whole tend to improve other minority groups with which they come into contact.

A	19%	12%
U	35%	56%
D	19%	20%

12 Different racial groups need to depend upon each other.

A	58%	60%
U	6%	16%
D	13%	12%

Factor VI--Belief in blacks' ability to size up whites and to negotiate the system.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
.78	1	Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.
.71	2	The best way to be seen is to be heard.
-.42	4	White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor VI

	1	2	4
1	-	.33	-.17
2	.33	-	-.23
4	-.17	-.23	-

Male/female responses for Factor VI:

1 Whites are not really trying to understand the situation of minority groups.

	Male	Female
A	22%	32%
U	61%	56%
D	16%	8%

2 The best way to be seen is to be heard.

A	71%	40%
U	6%	28%
D	22%	28%

4 White persons are less prejudiced today than they used to be.

A	48%	44%
U	29%	32%
D	22%	20%

Factor VII--Belief in blacks' ability to understand and handle the exploitative tendencies in whites.

Loading	Item No.	Item/Description
-.79	6	Whites must deal on minority group terms now.
-.59	21	Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.
.45	9	Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.

Item Intercorrelations--Factor VII

	6	21	9
6	-	.22	.31
21	.22	-	-.13
9	.31	-.13	-

Male/female responses for Factor VII:

6 Whites must deal on minority groups terms now.

	Male	Female
A	61%	36%
U	26%	48%
D	13%	8%

21 Blacks cause neighborhoods to run down.

A	3%	12%
U	42%	8%
D	52%	72%

9 Whites will let you down when the going gets tough.

A	19%	28%
U	32%	44%
D	26%	16%

Both Form A and Form B of the Social Belief Inventory provided useful and interesting information about the attitudes of students toward the opposite race. However, the writer chose to refrain from drawing conclusions about how students' beliefs and cognitions affect their behavior toward the opposite race because of 1) the unsystematic way the sample was drawn; 2) the limited number of variables looked at, and 3) the size of the sample. Even so, it was interesting to note the comparability of responses between males and females for items in each factor for both forms of the inventory.

The writer noted that the responses of white males and white females to each item in each factor were very similar. There was only one exception where the difference in the way males and females responded to a question differed by 20% or more. The item is identified below:

Item 11--Factor III--Males 21% Agree--Females--0% Agree.

As with white respondents, black males and females maintained a high degree of consistency in the way they responded to inventory items. The items per factor on which there was a 20% or more difference in the way males and females responded were:

Item 19--Factor I--Males 45% Agree--Females 12% Agree

Item 7--Factor II--Males 51% Agree--Females 76% Agree

Item 22--Factor II--Males 65% Agree--Females 8% Agree

Item 21--Factor VII--Males 52% Disagree--Females 72% Disagree

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSES--PLAN, PROGRAMS, PRACTICES, PROCEDURES

A Summary of Durham City Schools District Plan

On June 26, 1970 the Board of Education for Durham City Schools submitted to the U. S. Middle District of North Carolina a "Plan For Further Desegregation of The Durham City Schools" in response to a directive from the court, to provide a new plan for further integregation of city schools without a continuation of the seven-year-old "freedom of choice" plan. The court order came in the wake of a motion filed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

The plan, which became operative during the 1970-71 school year, remains in effect today. It contained fourteen points that were detailed in Chapter II, but summarized below:

1. The district would operate 25 schools--two (2) high schools, six (6) junior highs, and sixteen (16) elementary.
2. Attendance zones would be established for each school.
3. Allowances were made for seniors to complete their schooling at the school they attended during 1969-70. Sophomore and juniors were not excepted.
4. Junior high students were assigned to schools within the attendance area of their legal residence.
5. Elementary students were assigned to schools within the attendance area of their legal residence.
6. Geographical areas established for 1970-71 resulted in racial mixture in each of the district's schools.
7. Majority students could opt to attend a school in which their race was in the minority.
8. Exceptional students of all kinds were assigned to facilities designed for them without regard to race.

9. The Superintendent maintained the right to change students' assignments in hardship cases.

10. The Board reserved the right to re-define attendance area and composition of school without affecting the unitary character of the school system.

11. Students legally residing outside the district were denied attendance with or without pay, 1970-71 seniors excepted.

12. Faculties were assigned to reflect the black/white ratio district wide... Teachers and other professional personnel were not to be dismissed, demoted, retained or passed over for reemployment or promotion on the grounds of race, etc.

13. All courses, facilities, programs and extra-curricular activities at any school were made equally available to all students in a given school.

14. The Board was to submit a report of the racial composition of faculty and students per school by October 15, 1970.

Not specified in these points, but still a part of the desegregation process, was the pairing of six elementary schools. Schools that were formerly organized in grades 1-6 were reorganized--two schools became occupied by grades 1 and 2 and paired with two that handled grades 3 through 6. One school was established for grades 1 through 3 and paired with one that housed grades 4 through 6.

As point six above alludes to, the district's plan resulted in racial mixture in each of the district's schools. However, as Table 2 showed, such mixture was not reflective of the black/white population in the community at-large. The Board of Education rejected the notion of having each school's racial composition, as far as students were concerned, mirror the community's population. It was not unaware, however, that the fluctuation in enrollment and the loss of students did create an unstable situation in the district.

During the 1971-72 school year the Board, being concerned about the possible intervention of the courts, drafted a plan that would have distributed the diminishing white population more evenly in the schools. The plan called for tripling the number of students bused, closing a predominantly black elementary school, converting one junior high to a vocational center, pairing of several elementary schools and sending one-sixth of all junior high students to distant schools. When it became apparent that the initiative taken by the Board was meeting sharp criticism the Board retreated, and continued to operate under the same plan ordered and approved in 1970. Table 18 shows the current enrollments by race and schools. It shows that black enrollment in regular classes rose 2% (from 68% to 70%) from 1972-73 to 1973-74. There was a corresponding drop of 2% in white enrollment. The fluctuation appears minimal here. However, when enrollment data from the first year the plan became operative is compared to the current total enrollment, a different picture unfolds. In 1970-71, 59% of the district's students were black. In 1973-74, the number had increased to 70%.

Durham City School District--A Comparative Desegregation Study Site

Durham City School District was selected as a participant in this project because it was identified from source data as a district that developed and implemented a conflict-free and effective plan. The project's major purpose was to identify districts that had been effective and successful in their attempts at breaking the bonds of segregation, and to describe the processes that led to effectiveness and/or success.

TABLE 18

1973-74 Enrollment* Data by Schools

Durham City Schools
Durham, North Carolina

(Totals Inclusive of Only Black and White Students)

School	Grade/Level	Enrollment	White		Black	
			No.	%	No.	%
Durham High	10-12	1247	559	45%	688	55%
Hillside High	10-12	1206	261	22%	945	78%
Brogden Junior	7-9	441	355	80%	86	20%
Carr Junior	7-9	320	124	39%	196	61%
Holton Junior	7-9	514	260	51%	254	49%
Rogers-Herr Junior	7-9	381	71	19%	310	81%
Shephard Junior	7-9	465	17	4%	448	96%
Whitted Junior	7-9	535	37	7%	498	93%
Burton Elementary	1-6	492	36	7%	456	93%
Club Boulevard Elementary	4-6	348	137	46%	189	54%
East End Elementary	1-3	291	108	37%	183	63%
Fayetteville Elementary	3-6	509	57	11%	452	89%
R. N. Harris Elementary	1-2	238	42	18%	196	82%
Holloway Elementary	1-6	351	162	46%	189	54%
Lakewood Elementary	1-2	196	35	18%	160	82%
Lyon Park Elementary	1-6	174	31	19%	141	81%
Morehead Elementary	1-6	175	60	34%	115	66%
North Durham Elementary	1-6	185	56	30%	130	70%
W. G. Pearson Elementary	1-6	433	9	2%	424	98%
E. K. Powe Elementary	1-6	285	205	72%	80	28%
Y. E. Smith Elementary	3-6	443	107	24%	336	76%
C. C. Spaulding Elementary	1-6	402	12	3%	390	97%
Walltown Elementary	1-6	187	88	52%	90	48%
George Watts Elementary	1-6	210	115	55%	95	45%
Cooperative		39	3	8%	36	70%
TOTALS		10,068	2,947	30%	7,087	70%

*Totals as of 10th Day of School for Regular Classes Only.
Kindergarten, Academically Talented, Educable and Trainable Classes Excluded.

Seven criteria, and accompanying indicators, were used in measuring the degree to which a district was effective. Some of the criteria were minimally used in selecting districts. Most of the criteria were applied after selection. Durham City School District was matched against these criteria before and after selection to determine the effectiveness and the status of its plan, its programs and its practices and procedures. On the basis of observation and conversation, the following is an analysis of the match.

Criterion 1. Evidence that majority and minority students and staff are structually integrated* into the social system of the school so both hold statuses and play roles that are equal in power and prestige.

C-1 Indicators--1. Composition of student body in each school--There is racial mixture in each school in the district. The School Board sought and got racial mixture rather than a racial proportion per school that reflected the racial make up of the community-at-large. The decision resulted in six of the 25 schools having 90% or more black students enrolled. An additional five schools had black enrollments in excess of 80% and three in excess of 70%.

2. Ethnic composition of staff in schools--The black/white ratio of teachers in the district was 53% white and 47% black, for principals 48% white and 52% black. According to the districts plan, "Faculties...shall be assigned to the respective schools in the school system so that the ratio of Negro and white faculty members assigned to each school shall be approximately the same as the ratio throughout the school system.

3. Distribution of majority/minority group students in each class--At the elementary level it was observed that heterogeneous grouping across classes was the general practice. Skill groups for subjects such as reading and math were used. There was one exception observed. One school practiced ability grouping across the school. The tendency was for a disproportionate number of blacks to be assigned to less able groups.

At the junior high level, at least in the two schools visited, heterogeneous grouping seemed to prevail. Class composition in major classes was generally closely aligned with the racial composition of the school.

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*Structural Integration (definition used by the Californiat State Department of Education)...that situation in which staff members, children and parents of all ethnic groups hold statuses and play roles throughout the school system that are equivalent in power and prestige to those statuses occupied by members of other ethnic groups.

No racial distribution data were available for the high schools visited. Interviews with professional staff revealed an ambivalence toward the matter in which students are distributed across subjects. Some felt there is "hidden ability grouping," some felt that student selection is the basis of whatever blacks are disproportionately represented in advanced type courses, and some felt that a tracking system is used but not according to race.

4. Discipline--Professional staff and students interviewed expressed that there is uniform administration of discipline.

5. Integration of minority groups into organizations and activities of school--The study did not yield conclusive data on this point. In each of the secondary schools visited the white student was the minority as far as numbers were concerned. No data were provided on the extent of student participation in any activities at the high school level. As for the junior high schools visited, one had black/white participation in school athletics that closely resembled the racial make up of the school. The other had all black teams; however, the student body was 93% black (see Tables 8 and 9). As for participation in other clubs and organizations, the former junior high listed a 50/50 split for the student council and cheering squad, the only two organizations listed. The latter showed that there is white participation in four of the six organizations listed (see Table 10). Two of the four organizations have white representation that exceeds the white population in the school.

6. Patterns of student/student interaction--The picture varied. There seemed to be no evidence of racial tension, but there was neither solid evidence that students were not tacitly isolating themselves from one another. When or wherever statements were made that students interact well, the situation usually occurred during school hours; friendship patterns that extend beyond the environs of the school were very limited.

Criterion 2. Evidence that cultural/racial isolation has been reduced and is reflected in the heterogeneity of academic and nonacademic activities.

C-2 Indicators--1. (In addition to all of the above indicators) A sense of fellowship and mutual respect, as demonstrated by staff and student planning exists--In fairness to teachers observed, observations were neither numerous enough nor long enough for firm conclusions to be drawn about student/teacher planning. However, on the basis of the brief look-see observations that did take place, it appeared that planning was a function that had been retained by teachers. This was at least partially confirmed by four teachers during interview sessions who indicated that they map goals, and strategies, as well as decide content for their classes.

2. Evidence of avoidance of academic stereotyping--Though academic stereocyping did not appear to be running rampant, there was little clear evidence that orchestrated attempts were being or had been made to avoid such throughout the high schools in the district. This impression was based on observations and interviews. There seemed to be more of an awareness of the need for such avoidance at the junior high schools visited and each elementary school except one. It was difficult to ascertain the level of concern at the administrative level for this indicator across the district.

3. Evidence that teachers have the authority that enables them to work confidently and flexibly with students of varying abilities and talents--Teachers did appear to have the freedom to vary instruction and to do other things that would enable them to meet the different needs of students assigned to them.

Criterion 4. Evidence of curricular offerings and materials reflecting cultural diversity.

C-4 Indicators--1. Curriculum offerings related to minority experience or to majority/minority relations--There was evidence of some offerings related to minorities, e.g., black studies at the secondary levels, black authors in some

literature classes, and multi-cultural and multi-level texts in some schools. Curriculum offerings and materials differed from school-to-school. Some teachers when interviewed indicated that their schools had insufficient or no materials. They expressed strong concern about this point. Several indicated that materials were on order.

2. Library volumes related to minority experience or by minority authors--Volumetric figures were not collected from the libraries in schools visited. A perusal of three libraries, two in predominantly or all-white schools and one in a predominantly all-black school, revealed that there are minority related resource materials available in each. Also, it was found that each subscribed to or had available such periodicals as Ebony, Negro History Bulletin and Black World.

3. Evidence of varied instructional techniques designed to meet the different learning styles of students--At the upper levels, e.g., grades 7-12, classes observed were taught in a traditional manner. The mode tended to be the teacher dominated lecture. There were some instances of students being called on to read row by row, and a few instances of silent reading. No unusual instructional techniques were in evidence. There were some instances of conventional, whole-class instructional methods being used at the elementary level. However, there was also more evidence of different grouping pattern, e.g., skill groups in reading and math, and individualized instruction being used at this level.

Criterion 5. Evidence of successful academic achievement by both majority and minority students.

C-5 Indicators--1. Achievement data on students in school--No achievement data were collected by race across schools in the district.

Criterion 6. Evidence of comprehensive efforts to develop and offer programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity.

C-6 Indicators--1. Evidence of use of Title I, ESAP or other funds to develop compensatory programs--There was evidence that ESAP funds in the amount of $229,783 had been received by the district

for "teacher preparation programs, student-to-student programs, curriculum revisions, special community programs and pupil personnel services...." The team did not see written proposals or evaluations thereof, thus cannot cite the specifics of the programs.

2. Evidence of use of resources within and outside the school district to help devise programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity--There seemed to be evidence that resources at the central office were used to help in helping set up workshops that would help teachers better cope with the problems of desegregation. It was mentioned in one interview that a course had been set up through the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, on the desegregation process, and made available for interested teachers.

3. Attempts at in-service training aimed at program development--ESAP funds were committed to the district for curriculum revisions and teacher preparation programs among other things. There was no explanation of what revisions were made, nor the amount of time spent in the preparation of teachers, the number of teachers involved, etc.

Criterion 7. Evidence of parent and community involvement in the desegregation process.

C-7 Indicators--1. Existence of a citizen's committee, or advisory committee, to assist with desegregation plans--There was no evidence that there had been involvement of citizens via advisory committees in the development or the plan. There appeared to be minimal involvement in the implementation process.

2. Evidence of bi-racial school committees--Such committees did not exist at the schools visited.

3. Evidence that parents and school community are kept informed about problems and successes in the integration process--The news media appeared to be the major source of information. It is used quite a bit to keep the public informed.

CHAPTER VII

"INTEGRATION" IN RETROSPECT

Some Concluding Observations

Jane Mercer, a Sociologist at the University of California at Riverside, California, uses in her studies of school district's desegregation a five stage policy model designed to determine where on the segregation to integration a district falls. Since her model had implications for this paper it is briefly descrived below:

Stage 5 - Moving Toward Integration: Philosophic Stance--Equality of educational output, cultural pluralism.

Stage 4 - Comprehensive Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--Schools should have the same ethnic proportions as the district's population, students should have equality of educational opportunity--the latter defined in terms of input, same teachers, schools and texts.

Stage 3 - Token Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--District no longer denies responsiblity to desegregate, it alters boundaries, builds new schools, moves toward open enrollment and uses as the underlying theme freedom of choice.

Stage 2 - DeFacto Desegregation: Philosophic Stance--The Board of Education does not have the responsibility to change a pattern that it did not cause. The main theme is the neighborhood school.

Stage 1 - DeJure Segregation: Philosophic Stance--It is not the legal responsibility of the Board to desegregate. The question is raised as to whether the responsiblity belongs to the state or to the district.

Based on the data that were collected during the onsite visit, and based on observations made and interviews held, it is the writer's opinion that the Durham City School District as a whole has moved from Stage 1 (in the late 1950's) to Stage 3 (in 1973). While it is true that the "freedom of choice" plan that existed from 1965-66 through 1969-70 was abandoned in favor of a plan that met the challenge and mandate of the court, the new or replacement plan resulted in more mixing, but in different proportions per school. The plan, which continues to govern the operations of schools in 1973-74, fell short of the "Comprehensive Desegregation" category by design, though aspects of this category might be found in some facets of the district's activities. While rejecting the notion of developing and implementing a plan that called for ethnic proportions in each school that resembled the population in the district as a whole, the Board approved and implemented one that left four of the district's 24 schools with black populations of 93% or better and one with a population of 84%. Because of the district's inability to revamp its plan to account for fluctuation in enrollment and the loss of students (due largely to "flight" into county schools and private academies) the situation has changed considerably. Six of the district's schools now have black populations of 90% or more and five additional schools have 80% or more.

When using the Mercer Model to explain or discuss the status of a district's desegregation plan one must refrain from assuming that all segments of the community are at the same point on the continuum. It is conceivable that the Board of Education and the district administration could be at a more advanced stage or level of understanding, operation

and/or acceptance than parents, other persons in the community or even members of the professional staff in the district. This is often true because of obligations placed on boards of education and school administrations as legal entities to desegregate or otherwise rectify some ill that might heretofore have been perpetuated. One example of this difference was seen in 1971 when the Board, who were concerned about the possible intervention of the court because of the instability of its plan, drafted a new one that would distribute the white population more evenly in schools. The plan called for a tripling in number of students bused, the closing of a predominantly black elementary school, converting of one junior high to a vocational center, pairing of several elementary schools and the sending of one-sixth of all junior high students to distant schools. Such a plan would have resembled the characteristics of Stage 4. However, the community sharply criticized the initiative of the Board. The Board withdrew consideration of the plan.

Final Remarks

The data in this report were gathered basically from structured and unstructured interviews and from formal and informal observations. In order to reestablish the chronology of desegregation related events the school files at the local newspaper were searched and copied, in part. Not much historical data were available from the central office files.

These data are by no means exhaustive. They were collected by a team of four persons who made a four day onsite visit to the Durham City School District. Eight of the district's 25 schools were visited. Time and space constraints made it impossible to capture and record all of the significant things that

are happening in every school visited, not to mention every school in the district. However, the team attempted to sort out the substance of all conversations and observations, and to summarize them correctly and objectively with the hopes that Durham's historical attempts at desegregating its schools might prove enlightening to others.